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Gender Stereotypes and the Strategic Use of Emotions in the 2008 Elections

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GENDER STEREOTYPES AND THE STRATEGIC USE OF EMOTIONS IN THE 2008 ELECTIONS

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ABSTRACT

Scholars examining gender bias in elections have found that voters' stereotypical expectations of women and men candidates affect their vote choice. This dissertation examines gender stereotypes from the perspective of campaigns. Specifically, I examine how ad, candidate and election variables interact with gender stereotypes to determine the use of emotions in political ads. My analysis contains ad data for the 2008 Senate, House and gubernatorial races gathered from the Wisconsin Advertising Project, combined with original content analysis of 1,170,728 ad airings (3,424 unique ads). The results indicate that campaigns' use of fear, anger, enthusiasm and hope appeals depends to a great extent on gender stereotypes, and that this relationship is conditional on other factors such as the gender of the opponent, the level of the office, and the competitiveness of the election.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Women are steadily gaining a voice and visibility in American politics. The number of women holding public offices has grown over the years and women are increasingly influencing public policy and debate (Thomas, 2014). The 2008 presidential election featured strong candidates for the presidential and vice presidential race; the 2012 elections brought the largest number of women to the U.S. Senate, and the 2014 elections have brought the most number of women ever to the U.S. Congress. Though more women are running for office, they remain grossly under-represented in American politics. This has led several scholars to ask questions about the campaign strategies that can help bridge this gap.

A vast literature exists on women candidates and the strategies they use to overcome negative gender stereotypes. Since women are often perceived as being compassionate and warm—qualities not traditionally associated with leadership—they tend to highlight masculine issues and qualities such as toughness and confidence in their ad campaigns in order to be considered serious contenders. Content analyses of political ads indicates that women often appear in formal clothes, avoid appearing with their families or children, are more likely to use surrogates in their ads to establish their credibility, and present themselves as tough but caring (Bystrom et al., 2004; Bystrom and Kaid, 2002).

The women and politics literature, however, is largely silent on how and when women candidates use emotional appeals in their ads. This study draws its hypotheses from three related research streams—emotions in politics, gender and politics and emotions and gender—in order to make predictions about the strategic use of anger, fear, hope and enthusiasm appeals in campaign ads. Extant research on the effects of emotional appeals shows that anger and enthusiasm appeals dissuade people from seeking new information or changing their opinions about candidates, and that fear appeals encourage information-seeking behavior. From the

gender and politics literature we know that women are traditionally associated with positive emotions such as enthusiasm, sadness, and sympathy, while men are associated with anger, pride, and aggression (Plant, Hyde, Keltner and Devine, 2000). Along similar lines, research on gender psychology demonstrates that there is an essential difference in the character of men and women in terms of the qualities they possess and the skills they are good at (Baron-Cohen, 2003). Yet to date few scholars have attempted to make a link between gender and emotions in the context of elections, specifically to examine how emotions could be used strategically in a campaign. Do men and women use different emotional appeals in their ads? Are these emotions consistent with gender stereotypes? How do candidates navigate the intersection of gender stereotypes with other election-related variables? These are some questions we are yet to answer. Thus, though there is a growing body of scholarship on the "demand side" addressing the impact of emotions in ads, there is a lack of research on the "supply side" exploring the factors that shape political ads in women's campaigns.

It is important to re-examine women's campaign strategies for three reasons. First, more research on this topic can help close the gender gap in politics. The more we understand about candidate gender, party, voter behavior, and the ways in which these intersect, the better we will be able to predict winning strategies for women's campaigns. Second, women are more likely than men to worry about possessing the skillset and qualifications needed to run for office. They are also more likely to perceive that the electoral field is skewed against them, though some studies show the lack of gender bias among voters (Brooks, 2011; Dolan, 2014a). Research on campaign strategies can help alleviate potential women candidates' concerns about viability. Lastly, data about women's political ambitions reveal that though fewer women than men have thought about running for office, women are as likely as men to respond favorably to political

recruitment (Lawless and Fox, 2012). Studies on campaign strategies can help recruiters make a stronger case to persuade women to run for office. And this dissertation uses television ad data from Senate, House and gubernatorial races in the 2008 elections to do the same.

My argument is based on a crucial debate in the women in politics literature. One strand of this literature asserts that voters view candidates through gendered lenses, and their vote choice depends to a great extent on gendered expectations. As a consequence, campaigns adjust their strategies and tactics along gendered lines to resonate with voter expectations. The other strand of literature lays greater emphasis on the growth of partisanship in politics and asserts that candidate gender is less important in determining vote choice than factors such as party identity and incumbency. The scholars who subscribe to this thought contend that voter expectations have changed over the years. More women participate in public life than they did three decades ago; American society no longer subscribes to stereotypical gender roles, and is more amenable to the idea of women holding power. Thus, candidates do not need to run gendered campaigns.

I expect this debate to have an impact on the emotional appeals used in political ads. Traditionally, women are associated with emotions such as sympathy, fear and sadness, while men are associated with emotions such as anger and pride. However, considering that politics is largely a masculine domain, I expect these gendered norms to be disrupted. I expect factors such as level of office, opponent candidate's gender, competitiveness of the race, party identification, incumbency, nature of the ad, and state and voter characteristics, among others, to interact with the candidate's gender to influence the type of emotions used in an ad.

In the chapters than follow, I lay out my arguments in greater detail. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 build the theoretical framework for my argument. In Chapter 2 I draw upon theories from the women in politics literature. In Chapter 3 I draw upon theories from the emotions in political

advertising literature. And in Chapter 4 I synthesize literature on gender and emotions and draw upon research from psychology and politics to derive my hypotheses and research questions. In Chapter 5 I describe the research design, the data used for this dissertation, the coding procedures, variables of interest, and the methods used for data analysis. Chapter 6 and 7 present the results of the models estimated to test the hypotheses discussed in Chapter 4. Finally, in Chapter 8 I discuss the key findings, implications, and limitations of this dissertation, and provide suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2. GENDER AND POLITICS

The 2008 presidential election was particularly historic for women in politics. Not only did it feature Hillary Clinton, the first serious female contender for the Democratic presidential nomination, it also produced Sarah Palin, the first Republican female vice presidential candidate. The 2012 election brought 20 female senators to Congress—the most ever in U.S. history. Gender-related issues such as abortion, insurance coverage of contraception and the definition of rape played a bigger than expected role in these elections (Tumulty, 2012). The gains women made were so noteworthy that several media outlets heralded 2012 as the second "Year of the Woman," the first being 1992 (Friedman, 2012; Covert, 2012; Hook, 2012). The recent 2014 midterm elections serve as further proof of the rising power of women in politics. The midterms brought 104 women in the 114th Congress—20 in the Senate and 84 in the House—the highest number that have ever been in Congress. The 2014 midterms also saw Iowa and West Virginia breaking their dubious record of never electing a woman candidate to the U.S. Senate.

Though these are promising trends for women in American politics, when viewed in context, the larger picture appears grim. The number of women seeking and getting into political office may have increased exponentially over the past few years, but women continue to remain acutely underrepresented in politics. Women hold only 104 out of the 535 total seats in the current U.S. Congress, which amounts to less than one-fifth of the total seats. Only five out of the 50 U.S. states have women governors. Similarly, women lack representation in the top leadership positions: the incoming Senate leadership team in 2014 does not feature a single woman; only four Republican women feature in the U.S. Senate, and men hold an overwhelming 20 out of the 21 total standing committee chairmanships of the Republican Party.

At a fundamental level, this persistent lack of gender diversity is a problem for democracies which by their very nature are based on the assumption that a multitude of voices

should influence public policy-making (Thomas, 2014). Specifically for American politics, the lack of women officeholders creates significant gaps in representation. Despite women occupying diverse roles in public life, our society still follows a private-public division of labor, with women overwhelmingly filling roles in private spheres. This division exposes men and women to different life experiences and leads each to develop different perspectives and priorities on political issues. As a consequence, it is imperative that women are included in various political decision-making processes in order to make sure that their point of view is well-represented. Moreover, research shows that the inclusion of women in politics can promote greater engagement among women voters who are normally disengaged from politics. Young girls are especially more likely to be influenced by the presence of women in political office, and are likely to take an interest in politics or even aspire to run for office later in their lives.

In addition to impacting voting behavior, women officeholders also tend to make a distinctive impact on policy-making (Swers, 2002; Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004; Rehavi, 2007). Drawing from their experiences as women and/or mothers, women legislators are more likely to advocate for issues that directly impact the lives of women, children and families. For example, in developing countries, women are more likely to advocate for issues such as drinking water and roads, and support increased health spending and slowed prison spending (Taylor-Robinson & Heath, 2003). In the U.S., Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) was one of the key advocates of the Affordable Care Act, and Democratic women campaigned for more comprehensive health insurance coverage for women and the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act. Even on issues that are not of direct consequence to women, female legislators govern differently from their male counterparts. For example Swers (2002) found that Democratic and Republican women in the Senate have a greater likelihood of supporting bills related to increasing social

welfare benefits such as health and education for veterans, mental health and agriculture. Recently, women on the Senate Armed Services committee have been deeply involved in efforts to reform military policies on sexual assault within its own ranks. In addition to the issues they advocate for, women differ from men in their style of legislation—they are considered more willing to collaborate with others and find common ground with members of the opposing party.

Despite the unique contributions women make to politics, a long line of research has portrayed politics as a gendered institution (Kirkpatrick, 1972; Fox, 1997; Carroll 1994; Kahn, 1996; Fox and Lawless, 2005). Women on the campaign trail are often the target of sexism—from voters as well as from the media. In 2008, a male attendee interrupted Hillary Clinton's speech at a rally in Salem, N.H., and yelled "Iron my Shirt!" Throughout her time in public office, critics have criticized Clinton for being too harsh or for being too emotional—MSNBC's Chris Matthews characterized her laugh as a "cackle" during the 2008 elections, and both CNN and the New York Post commented on her display of anger while testifying about the 2012 terrorist attack in Benghazi.

In the most recent example, Time magazine's January 2014 cover on Hillary Clinton's possible presidential bid in 2016 carried a picture of a woman's leg in a pantsuit and high heels crushing a flailing man. Media commentators criticized the image for promoting a culture where women in positions of power are seen as dangerous and emasculating. Similarly, during her 2008 campaign, vice presidential candidate Sarah Palin was often labeled "Caribou Barbie" and attracted comments about her looks, choice of clothes, and a (lack of) intelligence and ability to lead. In 2010, Kelly Ayotte, who was running for the U.S. Senate seat, was criticized for attempting to run for office on the grounds that if elected, it would leave her with little time to care for her two young children. Similarly, while running for governor in Oklahoma, Jari Askins

faced questions about whether she would be able to empathize with the problems of average families, considering she was unmarried and childless.

This gender bias in the electoral environment—an idea which was further aggravated by Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin's candidacies—is seen as one of the main reasons for the gender gap in politics and political ambition (Fox and Lawless, 2012). In their report "Men Rule," Fox and Lawless (2012) state that when women run for office, they perform just as well as their male counterparts and there are no significant differences in their fundraising or campaigning abilities. Yet far fewer women than men tend to run for office, and the main reason for this is the perception of gender bias in politics. The other reasons cited in this report are also related to gender differences, especially socialization and societal structures. These reasons include: women being responsible for a disproportionate amount of domestic and childcare duties, women holding themselves to higher standards and considering themselves under-or un-qualified to run for office, and women being socialized to act less competitive, less confident and more risk-averse than men.

Gender Stereotypes

Political scientists examining perceptions of gender bias in elections have found that voters' stereotypical expectations of women candidates are a "reliable starting point for understanding the context in which women are perceived" (Dolan, 2013). This research is part of a broader field of research in public opinion which argues that voters rely on heuristics or information shortcuts in order to navigate the flood of information they are confronted with every day. As humans we do not have the ability to process every bit of information we come across. Therefore we tend to filter the information and absorb parts of it using schemas or systems of preexisting ideas in our heads. The gender schema theory (Bem, 1981) is based on

this idea, and states that people possess gendered schemas derived from the world around them, and these schemas color their view of the world. When faced with new information, they tend to interpret it such that it fits in with their pre-existing ideas of gender roles. These gender roles are "consensual beliefs about the attributes of women and men" (Eagly and Karau, 2002). When applied to political candidates, it means that voters who have low levels of political knowledge, are likely to rely on heuristics such as gender in order to place a candidate in the category of male or female and expect them to perform the stereotypical behavior associated with each gender. Studies show that many citizens are politically unaware and uninformed about candidates' issue positions, policy proposals, and even their names (Sniderman, 1993; Bartels, 1996). The method of relying on gender heuristics for processing information plays an important role in elections where the candidates are not well known, such as open seat elections or uncompetitive elections, which are less likely to receive attention from the media and the public.

Experimental studies (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a, 1993b; Kahn 1994; Sapiro 1982) show that voters rely on gender cues to make inferences about a candidate's ideology, issue position, and competencies. The gender stereotypes for women candidates are in three broad areas: ideological, trait and issue stereotypes (Huddy and Terklidsen, 1993a; Kahn, 1996, Sanbonmatsu, 2006). First, voters consider women ideologically more liberal than men, and more liberal than they actually are (Koch, 2000, 2002). This is a disadvantage for Democrat women because it increases the ideological distance between them and voters. For Republican women though, this stereotype is favorable because voters perceive them as less conservative than they are. Thus they come ideologically closer to the average voter. Second, voters tend to associate women with expressive qualities such as compassion, warmth, gentleness, and kindness, while men are associated with agentic qualities such as competitiveness, self-

confidence, aggressive, ambition, independence, strength, and toughness. As Eagly and Karau (2003) argue, "gender stereotypes follow from observations of people in sex-typical social roles—especially, men's occupancy of breadwinner and higher status roles and women's occupancy of homemaker and lower status roles." Leadership qualities tend to be construed in agentic terms and are inherently incongruent with the communal qualities associated with women. Therefore, women who are good leaders (i.e. who possess male-stereotypical agentic qualities rather than female-stereotypical communal qualities) run the risk of being evaluated negatively, at least by those who adhere to gender stereotyped roles, because in being good leaders they are violating the standards for their gender. Third, as a result of the trait stereotypes, women are expected to be more competent with social issues such as education, welfare, and environment, which involve looking after the most vulnerable sections of society, while men are expected to be better at handling issues such as foreign policy, defense, and the economy, which require them to make decisions about the overall safety and security of the country and deal with threat (Koch, 2000; Iyengar Valentino, Ansolabehere and Simon, 1997; Kahn, 1994).

In their analysis of the 1992 California senatorial elections and the 1994 California gubernatorial campaign, Iyengar et al. (1997) further subdivided the issues that women are considered competent in, into two categories: manifest and latent issues. They explained it thus:

> Some issues, such as sexual harassment or child care, convey manifest gender cues. In races contested by women and men, these cues are likely to be the dominant bases for evaluating the candidates. Other issues, such as unemployment, crime, or education, provide only latent connections to gender. People need to infer that women, because they are assumed to be compassionate, are less responsive on stronger criminal sentencing and more so on education (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993b). (pp. 79-80)

The argument is that since voters consider women candidates more capable of handling manifest women's issues such as child care, abortion, and sexual harassment, their campaigns are

more likely to be successful when they focus on these issues because they are of special relevance to women (Kahn, 1996; Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993b; Iyengar et al., 1997) and voters consider women naturally capable of handling these issues well.

Though there is a link between latent women's issues and women candidates, it is not as clear as manifest women's issues. The gender gap literature further explains the affinity of women for latent issues such as education and welfare. Women's voting choices reflect their socialization. They tend to vote differently from men on latent issues such as the economy (Chaney et al, 1998) because women are socialized to be compassionate and responsible toward others. Men, on the other hand, are conditioned to value logic and competition. For example, in their analysis of presidential elections in 1980, 1984 and 1988 (Chaney et al, 1998) found that women and men tend to vote differently on latent women's issues such as government provision of jobs, food stamps and child care. On manifest issues such as abortion, however, they found that men and women vote similarly—men and women who are pro-choice vote for Democrats while those who are pro-life vote for Republicans. The effect of stereotypes also depends on a number of contextual factors such as gender of the opponent, party identity, electoral environment, and level of office.

The stereotypical expectations of traits and issue competence for men and women also extend to political parties. Voters perceive the Republican Party as more capable of dealing with traditional "male" issues such as foreign policy, crime, defense and taxes, while Democrats are considered more competent in handling "female" issues such as healthcare, education, and poverty (Petrocik, 1996). Voters are more likely to evaluate female candidates positively for their ability to handle issues for which Democrats are seen as more competent. Similarly, male candidates are appreciated for their ability to handle issues for which Republicans are considered

experts. Thus Democrat women enjoy an advantage over their Republican counterparts because the stereotypical strengths associated with their gender are congruent with the stereotypical strengths associated with their party. Republican women, on the other hand, pay the penalty for party and gender incongruence (Sanbonmatsu and Dolan, 2009) because the traditional expressive strengths associated with women are incongruent with the public's perception of the party. With increased polarization at the party level, some studies show that gender stereotyping is secondary to party stereotypes (Hayes, 2011; Huddy and Capelos 2002). Extant research also shows that Republican women's campaign and governing styles are in some cases, more in line with their partisanship than gender. For example, Swers and Larson (2005) found that women Republican shied away from sponsoring feminist bills when their party held majority in the House and Senate because they did not want to be perceived as going against the "male" party agenda. Similarly Paul and Dunaway (n.d) found that Republican women tend to campaign more on male issues that men Republicans.

Another factor that affects the perception of gender stereotypes is the level of office. The demands associated with legislative offices such as that of Congress, which require communal relationships to enact policy, are more consistent with the traits and issue expertise associated with women (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a; Lawless, 2004) Women are considered to possess a collaborative, consultative and inclusive working style (Meeks, 2013; Cohen, 2003), while men tend to have a more "directive and task-oriented" (Cohen, 2003: 53) working style. Cohen (2003) points out that women use the word "we" in describing work as a collaboration, while men often talk about "I" or "my," acknowledging others' roles less frequently. Some researchers argue that these perceived gender differences make women better suited for legislative offices such as the House and Senate. Executive offices such as those of the governor and president are seen as

masculine because they typically deal with issues such as foreign policy and defense, and only one person can be in power at a time in these offices. Since the idea of a sole woman in power is not consistent with the gendered expectations of women, some researchers consider executive offices predominantly considered male domains. There is, however, some disagreement on this point. The Senate is regarded by some scholars as a male office on account of the economic "male" issues it deals with, while the office of the governor is considered female because it deals with domestic issues, often considered female. When there is a gender-office congruency, office-level stereotypes become favorable for women. Thus when women are competing for an office considered female, they tend to enjoy an upper hand compared to a male candidate running for the same office.

Stereotypes also vary depending on the gender of the opponent. The stereotypes literature indicates that men running against women tend to tone down their use of negative ads and attack ads in order to counter stereotypical ideas that they are "bullying" their female opponent (Fox, 1997, 2000). They tend to wait until the woman opponent launches a negative campaign first. Men also tend to adjust their issue priorities and make their campaigns more "female oriented." They do this by reaching out to women voters through campaign events, or focusing on issues of special relevance to women. Other research finds that women have moderate influences on men's campaigns. Dolan's (2008b) analysis of campaign websites for U.S. House and Senate candidates in the 2002 and 2006 elections showed little support for the argument that men strategize their campaigns depending on the gender of their opponent. Instead, all candidates in the races campaigned on the issues that were relevant during the election cycle. Some research shows that strategies change over time. In his analysis of gubernatorial and senate races in 2000, 2002, and 2004, Windett (2013) found that women running for governor do not run gendered

campaigns at the outset. They tend to follow a masculine campaign approach and shift their focus to women's issues only to "reclaim an issue area from their male opponents" (p. 649). Men, on the other hand, attempt to force women to run their campaigns on women's issues so they can label them as "single issue and/or shortsighted candidates" (p. 250).

Thus, the existing women in politics literature suggests that stereotypes can either adversely affect women candidates or benefit them. Since women are perceived as more honest, warm and compassionate, voters tend to see them as outsiders to politics (Kahn, 1996). This perception could work in their favor when the incumbent is hugely unpopular. Also, since voters consider women better able to handle women's issues such as sexual harassment and abortion (Iyengar et. al, 1997), women candidates stand to gain an advantage during elections when women's issues are at the forefront. For example, abortion was a major issue in the 2014 elections when Wendy Davis ran for the Texas gubernatorial position. Though she did not win the race, she was considered a strong candidate in the initial stages of the race because she had displayed her dedication to the issue by filibustering for 11 straight hours to block an abortion-related bill in the senate.

From the discussion so far, it is clear that a significant part of the women in politics literature holds that voters use stereotypes to evaluate the traits and issue competencies of women and men candidates. However, recent scholars have pointed out that since much of these observations come from experimental work using hypothetical candidates, the results have limited application to real-word races (Dolan and Lynch, 2014; Brooks, 2011, 2013; Dolan, 2014a). Dolan (2014a) argues that the effect of stereotypes should be tested in real-world settings against other contextual factors such as incumbency and political party. Studies that have adopted this approach found that party and incumbency exert a stronger influence than gender

cues (Dolan, 2010; Hayes, 2011, 2005. For an exception to this see Sanbonmatsu and Dolan, 2009 who found that despite the presence of party cues, voters tend to follow their gender stereotypes to evaluate women candidates). The growth of partisanship might further weaken the impact of stereotypes. Also, considering that people's opinions about women have changed a lot since the time the seminal women and politics studies (on which the literature is premised) were conducted, voters might have reduced their reliance on traditional gender stereotypes. Scholars cite the example of increasing numbers of women running for office, and studies showing that party cues trump gender stereotypes in influencing voters. For example, Hayes and Lawless (2013) in an analysis of news coverage of 2010 House races, and a public opinion survey of the midterm elections, found that a candidate's gender did not affect journalists' coverage of, or voters' attitudes toward the candidates. Instead, they found that news coverage and voters' opinions depended on partisanship, ideology, and incumbency. Similarly, Dolan (2014a) and Hayes (2011) found that candidate evaluations and vote choice depends more on partisanship than stereotypes.

Indeed there's proof of this changing mindset in the 2014 Pew Public opinion data which polled a cross-section of people on their opinions about Hillary Clinton running for office. An overwhelming 71% said they did not care whether a man or a woman was elected to the highest office of the country. More women than men and more Democrats than Republicans made this statement, but this is an indication that persistent gender stereotypes are changing. An example of this is a study by Schneider and Bos (2014), which found that people do not consider women candidates to belong to the same subtype as women. Thus, while women are associated with qualities such as warmth and compassion, women candidates are not seen as possessing these qualities. They are seen as well-educated, outspoken, and dominating—qualities that considered

"male." This indicates that women candidates are expected to display leadership qualities even though those qualities are "unfeminine," and will not be negatively evaluated for this.

On similar lines is Brooks' (2013) "Leaders not Ladies" theory, which presents a counter to the idea that women candidates face a "double bind" (Mandel, 1981), i.e. they are penalized both for straying from the stereotypical gender norms, and for adhering to stereotypical expectations and running the risk of being considered weak leaders. Brooks' (2013) theory posits that "women politicians will be evaluated by the public more as politicians than women…and held to standards of good leadership rather than to the standards of good femininity" (p.29). She bases this assumption on the fact that there are more women in public office than ever before, that multiple stereotypes (example, "black woman politician," "rich woman politician," "working-class local woman politician") compete with each other in forming views about a candidate, and that the presence of other contextual information such as party identification, information about the candidate's education and profession, and information about the candidate's political record tend to overshadow the effect of stereotypes. Both these theories indicate that voters might consider factors other than stereotypes in evaluating candidates, and that the stereotypes associated with women candidates are nebulous and constantly changing.

All of this however, this does not imply that "voter attitudes about gender are irrelevant to politics" (Dolan, 2010:70). Though a candidate's gender does not directly impact electoral results, there is ample evidence that gender is politically relevant and plays an important role in campaign strategies (Carroll, 1994; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a; 1993b). In sum then, the women and politics literature rests on an ongoing debate about the effects of stereotypes. And one of the best places to observe this tussle is in political ads, which are the most effective and popular way for candidates to reach out to voters.

Gender and Political Advertisements

One of the primary elements of campaign strategy includes reaching out to voters. Campaigns do this in various different ways including political advertisements, debates, media coverage, or direct communication methods such as door-to-door campaigning, telephone, or direct mail. In recent years, grassroots level outreach has attracted a lot of attention because it is effective in increasing turnout rates (Green, Gerber, and Nickerson, 2003) especially among low information voters in competitive races (Arceneaux and Nickerson, 2009). However, get-out-the-vote efforts can be expensive, and unlike political ads which can help a candidate reach out to a multitude of people in a short span of time, GOTV efforts can be more time consuming. Other outreach efforts such as news media coverage of a candidate are useful but the campaign has limited control over the content of the news. Political ads tend to be free from some of these pressures since they are under the control of the party or the candidate (Kaid and Holtz-Bacha, 1995) and therefore they are among the primary tools for a candidate to reach out to voters. Therefore it is not surprising that despite the growth of targeted advertising through mail, phone, and the internet, the biggest portion of ad spending is reserved for television ads (Lovett and Peress, 2014). Even in this age of media fragmentation where the audience is exposed to a large number of entertainment options, the number of television viewers is the biggest, thereby making it important for campaigns to use television ads to persuade voters (Ridout and Franz, 2011).

Political ads are highly effective as tools of mobilization and persuasion. They increase people's knowledge of candidates and their issue positions (Johnston, Hagen and Jamieson, 2004), especially among low information voters (Freedman, Franz and Goldstein, 2004). Political ads also have priming effects—they make certain issues more salient to voters (Johnson, Blais, Brady and Crete, 1992). Campaign ads persuade voters and impact their vote choice

(Iyengar and Simon, 2000; Huber and Arceneaux, 2007) and mobilize people who are less likely to vote during elections (Freedman, Franz and Goldstein, 2004).

Political ads tend to convey information in an easy-to-absorb way, using a combination of text, music and video. Candidates use various techniques to show themselves as effective leaders, family-oriented people, political outsiders, honest, and deserving of votes (Franz et al, 2008). Often, candidates use emotional appeals to reach out to voters. They use ads that inspire a range of emotions in voters: fear, pride, anger, enthusiasm, and sympathy, among others. By appealing to the emotions of voters, ads try to persuade them and affect their political attitudes and electoral choices (Brader, 2006; Kern, 1989; Perloff and Kinsey, 1992). Brader (2006) used experiments to demonstrate that emotions such as enthusiasm and fear can affect people's interest, intent to vote, and information recall. Ads containing emotions are also more likely to be recalled (Graber, 2004).

How candidates present themselves in ads, and the appeals they use has been a topic of scholarship for decades. The verbal, non-verbal and television production content of ads varies according to several factors such as the level of the race, gender of the candidate, and whether a candidate is a challenger or an incumbent (Kaid and Johnston, 2001; Kaid, 2002). Similarly, emotional appeals vary depending on the sponsor of the ad, the level of the race and its competitiveness, incumbency, the issues being discussed in the ad, partisan environment, and the phase of the election in which the ad is being aired (Brader, 2006).

With larger numbers of women running for office, researchers have developed a wide body of research to document the ways in which women present themselves in ads. This literature is based on the premise that stereotypes held by voters, journalists, and campaign strategists affect the content of women candidates' ads, and offers conflicting advice on whether

candidates should run "as women" and play to their stereotypical strengths (Iyengar et. al., 1997), or focus more broadly on a range of topics that are salient to voters (Dolan, 2005). The findings from studies examining this question are inconsistent. Some studies have found that women are more likely than men to appear in their ads and deliver their own messages than rely on surrogates (Kahn, 1996; Bystrom and Kaid, 2002). This is based on voters' perception of women being more honest than men. Similarly, women aim to stress their experience and professionalism, and take the focus off their domestic roles as wives, daughters and mothers. Therefore they are more likely than men to appear dressed in formal attire to signal their professionalism (Kahn, 1996). For the same reason women are less likely to appear with their own children and families in an ad. Men, on the other hand, are often pictured with their own families in order to "soften" their masculine image in the minds of voters (Bystrom et al., 2004).

With respect to the content of the ad, studies indicate that women are likely to stress policy issues in their ads rather than personal characteristics because they are stereotypically perceived as soft on hard issues such as the economy, taxes and foreign policy (Chang and Hitchon, 2004). However, Kahn (1996), in her analysis of political ads for US senate races between 1982 and 1986, found that all candidates, regardless of their gender, tend to focus on issues rather than personal characteristics in their ads. When the ads focus on candidates' traits, studies found that both men and women candidates "emphasize mostly "masculine" traits such as strength, aggressiveness, performance, and experience balanced with such "feminine" attributes as honesty, sensitivity, and understanding" (Kaid, 2002: 164).

Women are also advised to avoid negative advertisements, for fear of being perceived as harsh—a quality that would not resonate with gendered expectations. Hitchon and Chang (1995) advised that acting in gender-incongruent ways could backfire for both men and women

candidates. Their study indicated that if men display sympathy in their ads, and women display anger, audiences are less likely to remember their ads, and evaluate the candidate negatively for acting contrary to their gender roles. However, they also found that commercials of male candidates had higher recall than that of women candidates. In another study, Hitchon, Chang, and Harris (1997) advised that neutral ads are more effective and acceptable for women candidates and that they should use rational, unemotional appeals in their political messages. However, since political ads have increasing become negative (Geer, 2012), women could be at a disadvantage if they do not use negative ads (Kahn, 1996). Recent studies indicate that women do not get judged negatively when they use negative appeals, instead, it could help neutralize gender stereotypes (Gordon, Shafie and Crigler, 2003).

Perhaps one of the best examples of female candidates utilizing both feminine and masculine approaches in their campaign ads is Joni Ernst (R-Iowa) who recently became the first woman senator ever to get elected from the Hawkeye state. A virtually unknown candidate, Joni Ernst won a landslide victory in the Republican primary and went on to defeat her opponent Democrat Bruce Braley in the general election. Ernst's campaign projected her as a mother, soldier, leader, conservative, and a farm girl who "carries more than lipstick in her purse" (Ernst, 2014). Her campaign released several ads based on this theme. Of particular note was the ad called "Make 'em Squeal," where Ernst attacked government spending saying, "I grew up castrating hogs on an Iowa farm. So in Washington, I'll know how to cut pork." The ad got Ernst noticed on the national media, and most importantly, helped her connect with Iowans, especially those in rural areas. As Al Jazeera reported, "Ernst went from a member of the pack to being considered one of two frontrunners." She also bagged endorsements from Sarah Palin and Mitt Romney, among others. Another ad showed her rolling up to a shooting range on a motorcycle in

full biker costume, and shooting bullets at a target—an analogy for attacking the Affordable Care Act. Ernst balanced this image with other ads that showed her in a domestic setting—at the dining room table for instance, where she discussed her interest in healthcare and security, and against the backdrop of a restaurant kitchen where Ernst compared using the right amount of fat in a biscuit recipe to cutting fat from budgets in Washington. She avoided basing her campaign directly on gender, like Hillary Clinton did in 2008, and her campaign depicted Ernst as a woman who was tough and unabashedly conservative, "yet feminine in the independent, pioneer-woman stripe" (Los Angeles Times, 2014).

The discussion in this chapter indicates that when women compete in elections, gender considerations shape many aspects of their campaign. Though the literature is inconsistent on whether stereotypes negatively affect women's chances at getting elected, the importance of gender in elections is clearly evident. As Dolan (2014b:15) argues: "it is ingrained in most political observers, and even a good number of scholars, that a woman candidate is a woman first and this reality shapes her being a candidate."

CHAPTER 3. EMOTIONS IN POLITICAL ADVERTISING

Emotions have been a part of politics since Aristotle's times when statesmen used emotional rhetoric to reach out to audiences and influence them to take action. In modern day politics, campaign ads have emerged as one of the most popular ways to reach people's hearts and minds. Recent ads have featured candidates in the unlikeliest of places, performing tasks unusual for an officeholder: incumbent U.S. Senate candidate from Alaska, Mark Begich, rode a snowmobile in subzero temperatures, Louisiana U.S. Senate candidate Rob Maness bound the jaws of an alligator in a swamp, Mayor Steven Fulop of Jersey City swam in the Hudson River in February, and Senator Ben Cardin of Maryland unloaded luggage on the tarmac at Baltimore airport (Parker, 2014). These ads indicate a growing push among campaign strategists "to find an emotional hook to every ad" (Parker, 2014). Using humor, a particularly moving story, or just passion, campaign strategists are "trying to move people to care enough to want to pay attention to the ad, to consider voting for that person" (Parker, 2014).

One of the most talked-about ads in Alaska during the 2014 midterm elections was Mark Begich's ad titled "Alaska's Son" which featured him and his family doing everyday things. The ad portrayed Begich as a compassionate candidate with deep family ties to Alaska and a long record of service for the state. Throughout the ad were several shots of a small plane flying against a backdrop of the vast mountainous landscape of the state, juxtaposed with file footage of Begich's father, Congressman Nick Begich, who went missing during a flight from Anchorage to Juneau in 1972, and was ultimately presumed dead. According to Ken Goldstein, Political Science professor at University of San Francisco, the pictures of the plane are particularly meaningful for Alaskans. "The first thing you think of when you see an airplane over Alaska is what happened to Mark Begich's father when his plane disappeared," he said in the New York

Times article. “Given what happened to Begich’s father, given what happened to Ted Stevens (another U.S. Senator from Alaska whose plane crashed while he was on a fishing trip), this is a very emotional ad when you show Alaskans the image of a small plane over a vast space that talks about someone taking a risk to do their jobs.”

With ad spending on television for Congressional races crossing the $2 billion mark, and campaign season stretching to become a year-round phenomenon, strategists are hard-pressed to grab the attention of voters who may already be over-saturated with campaign propaganda. Therefore campaign strategists tend to place “a premium...on creative commercials that cut through the clutter” (Parker, 2014). Ads that contain emotional appeals fit the bill perfectly. Not only does their raw emotional content grab viewers’ attention, it also attracts press coverage, which in turn translates into added coverage for the ad and the candidate.

Political thinkers from the times of Aristotle, Plato and Descartes have acknowledged the role that emotions play in democracy. Yet, until about three decades ago, research in political science and psychology was largely cognitive, and emotions were considered “normatively destructive and dysfunctional” (Brader, Marcus and Miller, 2011: 384). Beginning in the 1980s research on the role of emotions in politics has increased (Brader and Marcus, 2013) and it is now considered a part of the process by which we make judgments and choices (Redlawsk, Civentinni and Lau, 2007). Campaign speeches, political advertisements, rallies and conventions “all serve to tap the emotions of the public” (Glaser and Salovey, 1998:156), and help voters connect with candidates. Scholars have found that emotions—both positive and negative—can affect memory (Blaney, 1986), motivation (Bradley, 2000), evaluation (Tesser and Martin, 1996), electoral participation (Gerber, Green and Larimer, 2008), and political judgment (Ottati, 2000). Campaign consultants believe that ads using images and music are more attention-

grabbing, stir emotions that "enhance viewers' reception of the ad message" (Brader, 2006: 33) and reinforce the message of the ad. Thus emotions not only increase the probability of audiences watching an ad, they also increase the probability of viewers accepting the message of the ad (Brader, 2006: 33). Some campaign consultants (eg. Kern, 1989) and scholars (eg. Jowett and O'Donnell, 1999) claim that viewers are likely to transfer the emotions evoked by ads on to the candidates themselves. This "referential advertising" can be used to associate unfavorable images and emotions with opponents as well as improve the perception of the favored candidate by association him/her with positive emotions and images.

Thus scholars view emotions as an information processing mechanism. They see emotions as heuristics or information shortcuts that help people make sense of a flood of information. Brader (2006:56) explains it thus:

> Sensory data is channeled simultaneously along parallel pathways in the brain, enabling both cognitive and emotional processing of information. Data travels to the emotional centers of the brain directly as well as indirectly by way of those areas responsible for "higher" cognitive functions. These dual pathways allow the brain to detect the emotional significance of a stimulus quickly and then revise the initial reaction on the basis of further analysis (Cornelius, 1996; LeDoux, 1996)...Because emotional systems process information more quickly, the precious resources of attention and reasoning can be allocated more efficiently to salient features of the environment. Without emotions appearing in the background, we would be endlessly distracted and overwhelmed sorting through information and weighing the options that confront us (Damasio, 1994).

In this project, emotion is treated not as a property of an ad, but rather as "a response that the ad may or may not elicit from those who view it" (Brader, 2006: 5). Our minds evoke emotional responses subconsciously and respond to them even when we are not actively following the emotional cues embedded in the information we encounter daily. Political ads contain images, sound and words, and together they "strengthen communication and arouse specific emotions" (Brader, 2006: 66). Though verbal statements take slightly longer to process,

words also have the power to evoke emotions. For example, verbal messages containing "beloved names, racial slurs, and terms signifying historical events such as "9/11" (Brader, 2006: 66) are likely to evoke emotions just like images and sound do.

The ads in this project are coded for four discrete emotions: anger, fear, enthusiasm and hope. Below, I explain each emotion and its effect in further detail.

Enthusiasm Appeals: According to Brader and Marcus (2013:175), enthusiasm is a state of "excitement and expectation for what's happening and what's ahead." Typically, ads containing enthusiasm appeals have "evocative symbolism and minimal discussion of politics" (Brader, 2006:.6). These ads carry colorful visuals of scenes portraying happy families and economic prosperity against the backdrop of picturesque landscapes. National pride is cued in through flags, people in uniform, navy vessels and military aircraft, political and natural monuments, and ceremonies honoring fallen soldiers. Their power lies in getting people involved and in reinforcing existing loyalties.

Enthusiasm is evoked by encountering content that is in line with the receiver's expectations such as news stories about the enactment of policies one supports (MacKuen et al., 2010), or the news that one's favored party is winning in polls. This emotion could also be evoked by images such as the smile of a favored politician (Sullivan and Masters, 1988 as cited in Brader, 2006) or the use of upbeat music and imagery in campaign advertising (Brader, 2006).

Hope Appeals: Hope represents a desire for a better situation than what currently exists (Lazarus, 1991). In most cases there is an assumption that the current situation is undesirable, unsatisfactory, damaging or threatening. Thus hope represents a feeling of yearning in the midst of prevailing negative circumstances and uncertain future circumstances. Though "very little research directly addresses hope's persuasive effect (Nabi, 2002), we know that typically, people

are more likely to be persuaded by hope appeals when they have been previously exposed to fear appeals (Nabi, 2002).

In political ads, candidates use a variety of tools to convey this feeling, including images of them interacting with voters and delivering speeches. Just like ads that elicit enthusiasm, hope-based advertisements tend to use visuals that are rich in color, with warm light and soft edges (Brader, 2006). According to Averill and Sundararajan (2005) the concept of hope has three core elements "(a) a wish for an outcome, the occurrence of which is uncertain; (b) coping responses undertaken to achieve the outcome, in spite of the uncertainty; and (c) a belief system [called] faith" (p. 136). Thus ads containing this appeal include positive images and phrasing that describe a better future, talk about promise, and use positive rhetoric. The typical images in these ads include small towns, children, national monuments, people working, and the American flag (Brader, 2006). Instead of using facts and figures, hope appeals include personal experiences and interactions (Averill and Sundararajan, 2005).

Fear Appeals: Though fear appeals are not more common than enthusiasm appeals, they tend to get a lot more scholarly attention. A large number of attack ads use fear appeals, but it does not necessarily feature in all attack ads. Fear appeals aim to awaken or incite the anxieties of people and can be triggered by novelty or uncertainty in the respondent's surroundings (since new or unknown factors could be deemed dangerous). The main aim of these ads is to draw attention to relevant information and make people rethink their choices. To do this, ads rely on images and music that can deliver the message. An example would be the famous Daisy Girl ad aired only once on television by President Lyndon Johnson's campaign in 1964, against Barry Goldwater. The ad had images of a small child picking petals off a flower, juxtaposed with images of a nuclear explosion. Typically, fear ads "emphasize domestic danger such as crime,

unemployment, and pollution, use grainy black and white images and have dark or muted colors. They show scenes of war, violence and crime, drug use, desolate landscapes, sewage, poverty, and death" (Brader, 2006: 10). As Brader and Marcus (2013) point out, fear can also be incited by worried expressions of political candidates, news that the favored candidate is losing, negative portrayal of out-groups, or the realization that the favored candidate's policies are opposite to the respondent's original beliefs.

Anger Appeals: According to Brader and Marcus (2013), anger and fear often tend to occur simultaneously. Anger, in particular, occurs when people sense a threat or "find obstacles blocking their path to reward" (p.179). Ridout and Searles (2011) point out that anger occurs under circumstances of uncertainty, when a person's core beliefs are challenged (Marcus et al., 2000; Marcus et al., 2006; Steenbergen and Ellis, 2006). Other than the presence of threats and obstacles, Brader and Marcus (2013) mention four factors that could cause anger: "(1) an external cause, especially the intentional actions of some "freely acting" agent who can be blamed (Lazarus, 1991; Smith and Ellsworth, 1985); (2) coping potential, or the perception that one has some control over the situation (Carver, 2004; Frijda, 1986; Lazarus, 1991); (3) perception that the situation is unfair, illegitimate, or undeserved (Averill, 1983; Roseman, 1991); and (4) the familiarity of a threat (Marcus, 2002)."

Theories of Emotion

One of the earliest ways of discussing emotions in politics was to divide emotions into groups based on two dimensions—valence and arousal. Valence reflected the extent to which emotions are positive or negative and arousal indicated whether the emotion triggered an approach or avoidance behavior (Zajonc, 1998). However, critics argued that by focusing on these two dimensions, the effect of discrete emotions (such as fear, anger, enthusiasm, etc.) was

being overlooked. While fear, anger and disgust may all be negative emotions, they function in different ways and could have very different effects on people. Similarly, though enthusiasm and hope are both positive emotions, they could impact people differently.

Political science researchers have used two main theoretical frameworks to guide discussions about discrete emotions in politics: cognitive appraisal theories and affective intelligence theory (AIT). Cognitive appraisal theories (Lazarus 1991; Lerner and Keltner 2000, 2001) focus on the antecedents of emotions and indicate that people respond to situations depending on the manner in which they interpret or appraise those situations. Thus different people could react differently to the same situation depending on the ways in which they interpret the situation.

In contrast to the valence-based approach which compares negative and positive emotions and their effects, this theory differentiates between two distinct emotions that could be classified as having the same valence. For example, anger, fear and sadness are all negative emotions, but they have distinct causes and effects. In short, this theory posits that the valence and intensity of people's emotions could vary depending on their interpretations of the situation. For example, when people experience threat, but attribute blame for that to others who control the situation (and are thus responsible for the threat), they experience anger instead of fear. Alternatively, if they were to attribute blame for the situation on themselves, they would feel shame instead of anger. According to this theory, people use a number of "appraisal dimensions" to interpret situations. Each appraisal theory uses a slightly different number and type of appraisal dimensions. Some examples include: "importance of an event, its expectedness, the responsible agent, and the degree to which it is possible to control the event" (Siemer, Mauss and Gross, 2007: 592).

One of the most important assumptions of cognitive appraisal theory is that emotions having the same valence could trigger different behaviors. For example, as Weber et al. (unpublished, 2011.) point out, an appraisal that arouses anger could be associated with approach-oriented behavior such as information-seeking, solidified identities (Bodenhausen, Sheppard and Kramer, 1994), and possible aggression (Mackie and Devos, 2003). Similarly, hope, which is a positively valenced emotion, promotes approach-oriented behaviors. However, interactions that elicit appraisals of uncertainty may lead to fear and often are accompanied by risk-avoidance behaviors.

The second theory of emotion and politics is AIT, which was developed by Marcus, Neuman and MacKuen (2000). Brader (2006) explains it thus:

> …two fundamental systems operate in parallel to produce emotional appraisals that in turn shape the choices and actions of citizens. The disposition system generates enthusiasm/satisfaction or depression/frustration as incoming information reports that the execution of one's plans either matches or does not match expectations (of success). The surveillance system generates anxiety/unease or relaxation/calm as incoming information suggests it is either safe or potentially unsafe to go about one's business as usual…The disposition system regulates a person's relative motivation to act on the basis of enduring political habits (e.g. Partisanship, prejudice, social identity). When triggered by a potential threat, the surveillance system interrupts this reliance on habit and encourages greater attentiveness and reasoned consideration of choices. (2006:56)

According to Weber et al. (unpublished, 2011), AIT is now "much closer to cognitive appraisal theory in the conceptualization of affective structure than it once was." While the older approach to AIT situated negative emotions like anxiety and anger along the surveillance dimension, and positive emotions such as hope and enthusiasm along the disposition dimension, newer approaches to this theory focus on the distinct antecedents and consequences of emotions that fall under the same valence. For example, scholars have found that anger and fear have distinct antecedents and consequences (Steenbergen and Ellis, 2006; Marcus, 2002; Marcus et

al., 2006). This advancement in AIT "puts it much closer to cognitive appraisal theory in the conceptualization of affective structure than it once was" (Weber et al., unpublished, 2011).

Effects of Hope, Anger, Fear and Enthusiasm: High-arousal emotions such as anger, fear and enthusiasm have a greater likelihood of encouraging citizens to participate in politics (Brader and Marcus, 2013). Both AIT and cognitive appraisal theory associate enthusiasm with interest in politics. According to Valentino et al. (2011:158), "enthusiasm results when goals are being met, and thus reinforces existing behaviors and attitudes (the dispositional system)." Thus enthusiasm occurs when our expectations are satisfied, and this reinforces our existing behaviors and predispositions. Enthusiasm promotes involvement in politics, and encourages supporting one's partisan disposition. In activating and reinforcing already-existing partisan dispositions, enthusiasm appeals attract people who already have favorable attitudes toward a candidate and prompts them to reiterate their support. These appeals drive away those voters who are opposed to the favored candidate.

AIT finds that familiar threats produce anger, whereas unfamiliar threats produce fear (Lerner and Keltner, 2000, 2001; Smith and Kirby, 2004; Tiedens and Linton, 2001). As Valentino et al (2011) point out: "Anger arises when threats are attributable to a particular source and the individual feels that she has control over the situation, while fear is triggered when an individual is less certain about the cause and does not feel in control." Thus anger leads to risk-seeking, approach-oriented behavior (Huddy, Feldman and Cassese, 2007) and confrontation (Frijda, Kuipers and ter Shure, 1989). Valentino et al. (2011) find that anger increases mobilization and political participation—both costly (example, attending rallies or donating money) and cheap (example, talking to others about voting and wearing a button in support of a candidate). With respect to the role played by anger in information processing, Moons and

Mackie (2007) found that though angry people are influenced by heuristic cues, it is not because they are unable to process information carefully; it's because they are motivated only by those cues that they deem relevant. Unlike fear, which encourages people to engage in deliberative information-seeking behavior, anger induces people to defend their pre-existing beliefs, become less interested in new information, and narrow their information searches to opinion-confirming sources. Thus anger leads people to "produce less thoughtful opinions, and inhibit(s) accurate recall of information (Marcus and Brader, 2013).

According to Valentino et al. (2011:158), "Fear is caused by novel or unexpected stimuli that suggest danger or the potential for negative outcomes. Fear triggers risk avoidance behavior, increased attention to the environment, and disrupts reliance on well-rehearsed patterns of behavior (the surveillance system)." Fear motivates people to focus on the information they are currently exposed to (e.g., media messages, campaign content), decreases reliance on prior preferences (e.g. partisan identity and ideology), and helps people break out of routines in order to find alternative courses of action or reconsider their existing beliefs. Fear spurs people to seek out more political information (Marcus, 2000; Valentino et al., 2011), not just information that is relevant to the current fear-evoking situation but also information that relates to the situation in a broader way, is more "balanced and less shaped by partisan or other confirmatory biases" (MacKuen et al., 2010; Valentino et al., 2009). Banks and Valentino (2012) tested the effect of fear on the use of racial cues in information-processing and found that fear undermines reliance on convictions such as racial stereotypes, while anger strengthens it. Thus fear can change people's minds by creating an uncertain atmosphere, which makes people pay less importance to prior preferences or ideology and more on their "contemporary assessments of the issue and character strengths of the candidates" (Brader, 2006: 144). As Brader's (2006) experiments

indicate, fear ads are most effective on people with high political knowledge and those who support the opposing candidate.

As Marcus and Brader (2013) argue, in some situations, the information-seeking behavior spurred by fear tends to increase a person's factual knowledge about the situation (Marcus et al., 2000; Valentino et al., 2008; Valentino et al., 2009).Thus fear increases the chances that a person will change his/her mind, increases the persuasiveness of a message, and triggers deeper and more deliberative information search (MacKuen, Wolak, Keele, and Marcus, 2010; Weber, 2008). In politics, fear "facilitates reflection and acts of political defection" (Brader, 2006:62) but does not motivate costly political action (Valentino et al., 2011).

According to AIT and appraisal theories, hope is similar to anger in the sense that they both facilitate approach-oriented behaviors and a reliance on pre-existing affiliations and beliefs. As Weber et al. (unpublished, 2011) mention, hope should lead the individual to operate in the disposition system. Hope appeals are most effective in encouraging individuals to become involved in a campaign, and in "reinforcing existing loyalties" (Brader, 2006; Marcus and MacKuen, 1993). In using hope appeals in political ads, the goal is to do this, as well as gain the affection of the message recipient.

To summarize, both, cognitive appraisal theory and AIT predict that emotions of anger, hope, enthusiasm, and fear aroused by campaign ads will affect the ways in which voters evaluate candidates and consequently their vote choice. Since enthusiasm, anger and hope lead people to drop their guard, relish the familiar circumstances they find themselves in, reduce their vigilance, and rely more on habit, ads evoking these emotions make people stick with their pre-existing beliefs and voting patterns. On the other hand, ads invoking fear decrease certainty and confidence, as fear is associated with greater vigilance. As such, fear decreases partisan

attachments and reliance on stereotypes, and increases uncertainty about one's choices, promotes greater attention to currently-available information, and promotes information-seeking behavior.

The Strategic Use of Emotions in Elections

Since discrete emotion appeals affect voters in various ways, campaigns strategically employ emotions keeping in mind various factors such as incumbency, phase of the election, and competitiveness of the race.

Incumbents and Challengers: A large number of election studies show that incumbents generally have an advantage over other candidates in any given race. Generally speaking, incumbents tend to win (Matland and King, 2002). Incumbents have the advantage of being well-known and visible in the community and in the media. They enjoy the legitimacy of office and are surrounded by symbols of power (for example, they are usually addressed by title never by name, and are often surrounded by officials (Trent and Friedenberg, 2000). They also enjoy a track record of tasks they have accomplished during their tenure—an advantage challengers might not have—and as a result are more likely to get endorsements from important members of the community and opinion leaders. Both men and women incumbents and challengers have a good chance of winning in general elections, but in open seat races, women seem to have a disadvantage over men, probably because of the structural barriers that hinder women's entrance to politics (Matland and King, 2002).

Unlike incumbents, challengers "need to persuade voters that change is needed, and that the challenger is the person to bring about the change" (Trent and Friedenberg, 2000: 94). Challengers usually tend to attack the incumbent's record, take an offensive position on issues, call for a change, and predict that the future will be better (Trent and Friedenberg, 2000). Since incumbents enjoy the advantage of being the default choice, they tend to reinforce the status quo

by using enthusiasm appeals in their ads while challengers use fear appeals in order to encourage voters to rethink their choices (Brader, 2006). Candidates in open seat races do not differ in their use of fear and enthusiasm appeals compared with races that have an incumbent (Brader, 2006).

Competitiveness: Competitive elections, by their very nature, tend to attract a lot of media coverage (Kahn and Kenney, 1999), and are more informative than other races because these races compel an incumbent to defend his/her record and give the challenger a chance to dispute the incumbent's claims. In the course of this back-and-forth, voters tend to be exposed to a lot of information, which might not be available during races that are not as competitive or well-covered by the media. Moreover, campaigns tend to spend a lot of money on competitive races, thereby increasing the amount of information available to voters. When a lot more information is available about candidates, voters will be less likely to rely on heuristics such as gender, race and party ID in order to make their voting choice.

The closeness of a race also influences the tone and substance of a campaign. As Kahn and Kenney (1999) argue, competitive races are bound to be more negative because in these races candidates are more likely to criticize the opponent. In such races, candidates from both sides are more likely to discuss issues and take clear stances on them. For the same reason, the number of fear appeals in ads aired during competitive races is higher than others. This increase is more for house and gubernatorial races than senate races (Brader, 2006).

Lastly, front runners tend to use enthusiasm appeals more heavily while those trailing behind use fear appeals. This can be traced back to the earlier discussion about the effect of enthusiasm and fear appeals. While the former urges voters to go with their usual voting patterns and support the candidate they have voted for in the previous years, fear appeals lead people to abandon habit and look for new information that could help them make a better choice.

General and Primary Election: General and primary elections differ from each other in the turnout levels, the types of voters they attract, and the appeals used by candidates in these elections. Primaries typically have lower levels of voting, but have a greater variation in turnout (as the electorates are more politically engaged and partisan than those that vote in the general election), automatically making it important for campaigns to use a wide variety of appeals to influence the electorate. Primaries are useful for spreading name recognition for the challenger rather than the incumbent who is already well-known among the constituents. Moreover, voters in the primaries might have higher levels of political knowledge and might not be influenced by heuristics as compared with general election voters who might rely on information shortcuts such as gender, race and party ID in order to make their decisions.

Matland and King (2002) argue that gender plays a limited role in general elections. According to them, partisan identities are more relevant in these elections. This is true particularly for House elections, which tend to be low information elections, making party labels especially relevant in these races. In primaries however, since the two ideological extremes of each party turn out to vote, women candidates might be advantaged or disadvantaged in getting a nomination depending on the party they belong to. While strong Democrats tend to be much more supportive of a female candidate, strong Republicans are less likely to do so.

During the primary elections, candidates prefer to use enthusiasm and hope appeals instead of fear and anger appeals because at this stage candidates are typically trying to introduce themselves to voters, and voters in turn are attempting to get information about the candidates in order to determine their vote choice. In his study of presidential elections, Brader (2006) found that during the primaries, campaigns tend to air more enthusiasm ads than fear ads, while in general elections, it is exactly the opposite. As Ansolabehere, Hansen, Hirano and Snyder (2005)

argue, since primary voters are more issue-oriented, candidates tend to highlight their personal characteristics such as experience and record in these elections. Typically, candidates use positive emotional appeals to talk about these factors. Negative appeals are more commonly used during general elections when candidates of two different parties run against each other. Thus, during primaries, campaigns shy away from evoking fear against fellow partisans.

The next chapter links the effect and strategic use of discrete emotions as discussed in this chapter to the gender stereotypes literature discussed in Chapter 2 and lays out the hypotheses and research questions that will be tested in this project.

CHAPTER 4. GENDER AND EMOTIONS

Emotions—displayed openly by politicians or used covertly as appeals in political ads—play an integral part in politics. American politics is rife with anecdotal evidence suggesting that when politicians display emotions, they get reactions from the press and voters. In 1972, Democratic presidential candidate Edward Muskie's campaign collapsed after he appeared to be crying while responding to a newspaper's attack on his wife's character. While Muskie said he was simply brushing off snowflakes from his eyes, the gesture was interpreted widely in the media as indicative of his softness, signaling his inability to occupy the highest office in the country. Since then many other politicians have publicly shed tears or expressed anger—President Obama mourned his grandmother's death before the 2008 general elections, then Secretary of State Hillary Clinton appeared visibly angry while testifying at the 2013 Senate committee hearings on Benghazi, House Speaker John Boehner cried for the American troops in Iraq, former senator Rick Santorum cried at a campaign event in Iowa while talking about his daughter who has Down's syndrome, and Howard Dean's enthusiastic scream at the end of his speech at the 2004 Iowa caucuses led to a stream of negative press coverage portraying him as a candidate who could not control his emotions and was therefore unfit for office.

Researchers have found that emotions are associated differently with men and women. Popular wisdom dictates that since women are considered emotional, voters will not penalize them for expressing sadness or crying. But this is not always true. In 1987, former Colorado Rep. Pat Schroeder broke down while announcing that she would not seek the Democratic nomination for president. Her act invited widespread scorn and dismay from those who believed her emotional outburst had reinforced gender stereotypes and dealt a blow to the advancement of women in politics. But two decades later, during the 2008 presidential campaign when Hillary

Clinton teared up while speaking with women voters after the Iowa caucuses, political strategists widely believed that it helped humanize her and was responsible to some extent for her win in the New Hampshire primaries.

The perception that women are more emotional than men is common in several cultures (Timmers, Fischer, and Manstead, 2003). Scholars researching "the historical economy of emotions" have documented that emotions have developed and changed through the ages. For example, while honor was an emotion of prime importance in the Middle Ages (around the 15th century), it lost its appeal and got restructured into other emotions during the Renaissance and Enlightenment Ages (16th century to 18th century). Since these eras emphasized intelligence, reason and culture, they emphasized empathy, sympathy and compassion over honor. As a result, the traditional understanding of honor gave way to a more socially complex and gendered definition of the concept. For women, honor was connected to their sex and sexual behavior, while for men it was connected to character and skills. While men were in control of their honor and had multiple opportunities to defend or earn it, women needed others to defend their honor and "fallen" women could never get their honor back.

Like honor, other emotions acquired a gendered feel in response to gendered roles in society. The gendered notion of emotions was popularized by canonical texts and encyclopedias of the seventeenth century, which served to codify acceptable and unacceptable knowledge and behavior in society (Frevert, 2011). According to these texts, anger was a masculine quality and could be expressed by the powerful. Since women were associated with weakness, they were expected to hide their rage, and if they did express it, it was considered a flaw in their personality. The Modern European society in the early eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had a slightly different view of anger. Since society at the time emphasized self-control, educated men

were expected to avoid displays of affect, especially rage. Men who lost control of their emotions were perceived as lacking good breeding. Women and children, on the other hand, were seen as incapable of possessing the power to keep their emotions under control; women expressing passion were perceived as lacking femininity and civility.

Further, the ideas of philosophers such as Rousseau and Kant who perceived women as "superficial, capricious, unsteady, and irrational," (Frevert, 2011:106) were popular through much of the nineteenth century and were disseminated to generations of women through special anthologies, which eulogized the qualities of "grace, tenderness, patience, sweet temper, and shamefacedness," (Frevert, 2011:111) for women, and "reason, willpower and audacity" (111) for men.

These gendered emotional expectations have been institutionalized in the standards of behavior in our society. In fact, various theories of emotional development concur in the belief that emotionality differs by gender: that women are more emotionally expressive and skilled in the use of non-verbal behaviors, and that women are associated strongly with certain types of emotions over others (Timmers, Fischer, and Manstead, 2003; Robinson and Johnson, 1997, Briton and Hall, 1995). Women are commonly associated with happiness, embarrassment, surprise, sadness, disgust, warmth, fear, anxiety, and shame, while anger, contempt, and pride are associated more with men (e.g. Plant, et al., 2000; Baron-Cohen, 2003; Kelly and Hutson-Comeaux, 1999; Birnbaum, Nosanchuk and Croll, 1980).

Researchers have offered several theories based on biology and culture to better understand how these gender differences evolved. One of the primary biology-based theories of emotional development is the genetic evolutionary theory, which traces male and female specific emotions to survival-related approach-withdrawal processes. Women evolved primarily as

caregivers, while men were hunter gatherers. Hunting involved communicating with peers who were at nearly the same levels of physical, cognitive, and social development, while childcare involved communication between a developmentally advanced individual (mother) with an immature and vulnerable infant incapable of speech. This division of labor made it essential for women to become more sensitive to nonverbal cues than men and display anger less frequently, lest they be seen as aggressive and unsuitable for taking care of children (Frodi, Macauley, and Thome, 1977 as cited in Brody, 1985). Other scholars using the genetic evolutionary theory have hypothesized that the physical differences between men and women made the nature and resolution of the developmental conflicts they undergo very different from each other. These differences produced "more aggression, competition, guilt, and outer-directedness in males, and more passivity, shame, inner directedness, jealousy, and masochism in females" (1985:109).

In his book, *The Essential Difference*, Simon Baron Cohen uses evidence from neuroscience to argue that the male and female brain are wired differently—"the female brain is predominantly hardwired for empathy" while the male brain is hard-wired for "understanding and building systems" (Cohen, 2003:1). The average male brain is thus a "systemizer" and is interested in figuring out how things work, while the average female brain is an empathizer that is very strongly attuned to others' feelings. Cohen argues that these gender-based emotional differences are evident since early childhood. Baby girls tend to prefer to play with dolls even when they are not prompted, while boys spend more time in mechanical play (with toy cars), and construction play (with blocks). Girls as young as 12 months respond more strongly to the distress of other people, and toddler girls are better than boys at deducing the feelings of people around them. The emotional difference carries on to adulthood, when women become better at responding to facial expressions and understanding non-verbal communication.

There are gender differences in speech as well, with girls' speech being more cooperative than boys. As Cohen (2003) explains, girls "make softer claims, use more polite forms of speech, avoid the blunter forms of power-assertion such as yelling or shouting," (47) and express anger less directly. Boys, on the other hand, are "more likely to brag, taunt, threaten, override the other person's attempt to speak, ignore others' suggestions" (48), and use language to assert their dominance over others. Cohen (2003) argues that the differences in speech styles and temperament suggest core emotional differences between the two sexes. Females' empathizer brains make them more attuned to feelings, while boys' systemizer brains make them competitive and less likely to compromise.

Another argument that Cohen (2003) offers to support the argument that emotions are rooted in biology is that females are more commonly associated with lower levels of fetal testosterone, which is known to cause better levels of language, communication skills, eye contact, and social skills—all signs of better empathizing. Higher levels of fetal testosterone are linked with good systemizing abilities.

The cultural theory of emotional differences between men and women is based on the effect of the environment or social context in the development of emotions. Some scholars theorize that women express vulnerability and weakness on account of their inferior position in society. As a result of their powerlessness and low status, women are more likely to experience shame, anxiety, and depression than men, and are less likely to express anger than men (Miller, 1976). Thus girls are more likely to block the display of negative emotions, and to turn them inwards while boys tend to project their feelings outward. However, as Brody (1985) points out, these emotional displays vary by age, culture, and situational context. In some situations, men and women might not be subject to social mores, and might be willing to express cross-gender

emotions. Other researchers (for example, Lewis, 1976, 1983 and Chodorow, 1978) argue that emotional development is based "attachment systems" (Brody, 1985). Girls brought up by parents of the same sex (i.e. mothers) are less likely to feel the need to differentiate themselves from their mothers and feminine emotions, while boys are likely to repress their emotionality in order to assert their independence from their mothers, and develop their masculine identities.

Other theorists such as Cohen (2003) argue that emotional differences arise from parenting techniques—parents speak differently to their sons as compared to their daughters. Since boys are assumed to be greater risk-takers, parents tend to speak to them in admonitory tones, while they adopt more emotion-laden tones and words with their young girls, causing girls and boys to become familiar with distinct types of emotions.

Studies exploring the effects of emotional displays by men and women have found mixed results. In the campaign context, anecdotal evidence indicates that women might pay a heavier price for displaying anger—an emotion considered predominantly masculine. As discussed above, people have gender-stereotyped expectations about how men and women should behave and when they stray from these normative expectations, they are punished (Prentice and Carranza, 2002). Thus while women may be punished for expressing anger, men could be punished for expressing sadness or crying. However, as Brooks (2011) argues, women and men acting in stereotype-congruent ways could also be punished. When men and women behave in stereotype-congruent ways, voters are likely to ascribe their behaviors to the individual's disposition rather than situational factors. Thus a woman candidate crying or a man getting angry would be interpreted as a personal weakness rather than a reaction to a situation. Contextual factors also determine voters' attitudes toward candidates' emotional displays. Kelly and Hutson-Comeaux (1999) tested people's reaction to gender stereotypes in interpersonal and achievement

contexts and found that though people *do not* expect women to be more expressive than men, women and men *are* expected to be more emotional in contexts that are traditionally associated with them (in the study the interpersonal/feminine context was operationalized as helping a friend who had met with an accident, and the achievement/masculine context was a workplace incident). The only exception was anger—men were expected to overreact to anger-inducing incidents regardless of the context while women were expected to underreact. Brooks (2011) found that voters do not differentiate between men and women candidates who display their emotions openly in public. Her findings indicated that voters penalize both genders equally for expressing anger or tears.

From this discussion, it appears that though emotions have a gendered aspect, it is unclear whether and how campaigns use emotions strategically to improve their candidate's electoral prospects. Further, it is unclear whether campaigns follow the gender-emotion congruence. Just as parties "own" certain issues—i.e. Democrats are perceived as stronger on social welfare issues and Republicans are perceived as stronger on economic issues—do campaigns associate women and men candidates with certain emotions? Do men's campaigns tend to make a more disproportional use of anger appeals as opposed to hope and enthusiasm appeals? These questions remain unanswered.

The previous discussion in Chapter 3 about the gendered nature of candidates, elections and ads, combined with the discussion in this chapter about the gendered nature of emotions creates an interesting puzzle for women's campaigns. While one body of research indicates that women would benefit from campaigning on gender-stereotypic strengths, other research indicates that shifting stereotypes may signal the need for shifting campaign strategies. This project aims to draw this debate to the emotional appeals used in candidates' political ads. While

conventional wisdom would indicate that women would benefit from using hope and enthusiasm appeals or neutral appeals in their ads, the theory of affective intelligence would indicate that in order to break stereotypes, women candidates would benefit from using fear appeals in their ads. From this discussion I propose the following research questions and hypotheses:

Research Questions and Hypotheses

RQ1: How do men and women candidates vary in their use of emotional appeals in ads?

RQ2: How do candidate gender and candidate characteristics determine the emotional appeals used in ads?

RQ3: How do candidate gender and election characteristics determine the emotional appeals used in ads?

RQ4: How do candidate gender and ad characteristics determine the emotional appeals used in ads?

H1: Women candidates are more likely to use positive emotions than male candidates.

H2: Women candidates are less likely to use negative emotions than male candidates.

H3a: Democrat women are likely to differ from Republican women in the use of positive emotions.

H3b: Democrat women are likely to differ from Republican women in the use of negative emotions.

H4a: Democrat and Republican men are likely to differ in the use of positive emotional appeals.

H4b: Democrat and Republican men are likely to differ in the use of negative emotional appeals.

H5: Women running against male candidates are more likely to use fear appeals than women running against female candidates.

H6: Women running against men candidates are less likely to use anger appeals than women running against female candidates.

H7a: Women candidates in Senate races are likely to differ in their use of fear appeals from men running in Senate races.

H7b: Women candidates in House races are likely to differ in their use of fear appeals from men running in House races.

H7c: Women candidates in Governor Races are likely to differ in their use of fear appeals from men running in Governor races.

H8a: Women Democrats running for competitive elections are more likely to use fear appeals than male Democrats.

H8b: Male Democrats running for competitive elections use fear appeals differently from male Republicans.

H8c: Women Democrats running for competitive elections are more likely to use fear appeals than women Republicans.

H8d: Women Republicans running for competitive elections are more likely to use fear appeals than male Republicans.

H9a: Ads with feminine characteristics are less likely to have negative emotions than ads with masculine characteristics.

H9b: Ads with feminine characteristics are more likely to have positive emotions than ads with masculine characteristics.

H10a: Women candidates are more likely to use negative emotions in masculine ads than male candidates.

H10b: Male candidates are less likely to use negative emotions in feminine ads than masculine ads.

H11a: Democrat women candidates are more likely to use fear appeals in masculine ads than Republican women candidates.

H11b: Democrat males are less likely to use fear appeals in feminine ads than Republican males.

CHAPTER 5. DATA AND METHOD

In order to test the research questions and hypotheses discussed in the previous chapter, I used political advertising data collected by the Campaign Media Advertising Group (CMAG) and distributed by the Wisconsin Advertising Project. The dataset for this project contains ads aired during the U.S. Senate, U.S. House, and Gubernatorial elections in all 210 media markets in the United States during 2007 and 2008. CMAG's data gathering system creates a storyboard for each ad, which includes a complete transcript of all audio and a still capture of every fourth second of video. My project included three steps of data gathering. I first ordered the 2008 Wisconsin Ad dataset, which contained 3,577 storyboards for the 2008 Congressional and gubernatorial races, and a dataset containing 1.3 million ad airings. The ad airings data provided by the Wisconsin Ad dataset had already been coded by a team of graduate and undergraduate students. The coding scheme covered a wide range of topics, including ad issue, race information, and candidate characteristics.

Since this project explores questions that require information not present in the coding categories used by the Wisconsin Ad Project, the second step in my data gathering process was to code the storyboards for additional information (see Appendix A for the coding sheet). Three undergraduate coders were hired to code the storyboards for information such as the primary emotion in the ad, and the masculine and feminine advertising techniques in the ad. The coders underwent a month's training in October 2014, and met three times after that in order to refresh their knowledge about instructions given in the coding sheet. At the end of the training period, the intercoder reliability calculated using Krippendorf's alpha for the emotional content of ads was as follows: fear (.49) anger (.84) hope (.44) enthusiasm (.91).

The last step in the data gathering process was to gather contextual information about the 2008 races, and state-level demographics. Using the 2010 Almanac of American Politics, I

gathered the following information: candidate gender, opponent gender, party ID of candidate and opponent, incumbent/challenger/open seat race, race outcome, electoral margin, whether the state had voted Republican or Democrat in the previous presidential election, and demographics of the state.

The dataset contains 12 Governor races, 190 House races, and 31 Senate races (see Appendix B). As shown in Table 5.1, the dataset has 2739 ads from male candidates and 681 female candidate ads. The most prominent emotion in the ads is anger (1617 ads), followed by enthusiasm (1500 ads), hope (1347 ads) and fear (497 ads). The majority of the sample has candidate-sponsored ads (2681 ads), followed by party-sponsored ads (360 ads), interest group ads (301 ads), and hybrid-sponsored ads (82 ads), which are a combination of the other sponsors. Demographics-wise, the dataset has ads that were aired in mostly urban (70.5%), white states (average white population is 71.9%), where the mean age is 36.9 years, and the voters were evenly split along partisan lines.

Independent Variables

As summarized in Table 5.2, I used four distinct groups of independent variables.

Candidate Characteristics: The information for the variables in this category was gathered from the 2010 Almanac of American Politics. The first variable in this category was candidate gender, which is a dichotomous variable and was coded 1 for female candidates and 0 for male candidates. Other dichotomous gender related variables include opponent gender, which was coded 1 for female opponents and 0 for male opponents. As discussed in the previous chapters, emotions are divided along distinct gender lines and the presence of the gender-related variables in the models is meant to account for this variation. Other candidate related variables are party ID, coded 0 for Republicans and 1 for Democrats; candidate status, coded 0 for

challenger, 1 for incumbent, and 2 for open seat races; and election outcome, coded 1 for winners and 0 for losers. Though there is no direct theory linking Republican and Democrat candidates with particular emotional appeals, given the Democratic Party's association with female issues, and the Republican Party's association with male issues, there might be a difference in the types of emotions employed by the two parties. Similarly, incumbents and winners are known to employ positive emotional appeals, while challengers and trailing candidates are known to employ fear appeals (Brader, 2006).

Election Characteristics: This includes election type, coded 0 for primary election and 1 for general election; electoral margin, which was the percentage difference between the winning and losing candidate; and type of race, coded 1 for senate races, 2 for house, and 4 for governor (3 was presidential races, but is not part of this project). During primary elections candidates employ positive appeals as compared to general elections, while more competitive races usually tend to employ fear appeals. Though there is no theory linking particular emotions to the offices of senate, house and governor, given the discussion in the previous chapters about executive offices being male, and legislative offices being female, I expect the level of office to affect the dependent variable.

Ad Characteristics: As Brader (2006) finds, ads from candidates are more likely to contain enthusiasm than fear appeals while ads from interest groups and political parties are more likely to contain fear appeals. The logic is that people tend to transfer emotions from ads on to the sponsor, or the people who appear in the ads, and the candidates would not want to be associated with negativity. Moreover, interest groups tend to spend more on ads in competitive races, where the tone tends to be overwhelmingly negative. Also, interest-group sponsored ads focus more on policy matters than personal characteristics, which add to the negative appeals

(Steger, Kelly and Wrighton, 2013). Another ad-level dichotomous variables is ad type, which includes masculine and feminine ads. The variable for masculine ads was created by combining ads coded as having various masculine campaign strategies. As Bystrom and Kaid's (2002) analysis of campaign strategies indicated, men and women tend to use distinct video and audio styles in their ads to highlight their respective strengths. Following their analysis, the ads coded 1 for masculine ads have aggressiveness, show the candidate with his/her own children or family or mention their family in the text, contain statistics, and refer to the candidate's professional experience. The variable feminine ads was created by combining ads that featured the candidate in formal clothes, cited an authoritative source, refereed to the candidate's compassionate nature and outsider status, featured other people's children or families, and referred to candidate's personal experiences. Neither the feminine and masculine ads category, nor the female and male issue ads categories are mutually exclusive.

Demographic Variables: These include race, age, and partisanship of voters, urban population, education, poverty level, and percent of women in the state legislature. The variable for race measures the percent of whites in the state. Studies show that campaigns often use implicit and explicit racial appeals to influence voters (Valentino, Hutchings and White, 2002). Ads also use negative emotions as a tool to cue race into public opinion (Reeves, 1997). According to Lazarus's (1991) appraisal theory, our emotions are a result of the threat or opportunity we perceive from our environment. In a racial context, this would mean that voters could feel threatened or reassured by the candidate depending on their racial attitudes. As discussed earlier, anger arises when clear blame can be laid on a person, while fear occurs when danger is implied but the source of danger is not clear. Ads that imply age-old racial stereotypes towards minorities and typecast them as lazy and dependent on government handouts can trigger

anger, while ads implying that minorities are naturally inferior and are criminals by nature can trigger fear. Thus candidates could use implicit and explicit racial cues along with positive and negative emotions to play on voters' racial anxieties.

The age, urban population and education variables are percentage figures. There is no direct theory that links these population characteristics to specific emotions, but extant research shows that states that are more urban and ethnically diverse, and have education rates that are above the national average, tend to be more women-friendly. I expect these variables to impact campaigns' decisions to use various emotions. The partisanship variable represents the percentage of voters who voted Democrat or Republican during the previous presidential election. Extant research shows that candidates are likely to use enthusiasm appeals in states which are friendly to their parties because enthusiasm helps reinforce existing loyalties. Campaigns tend to use fear appeals in hostile contexts where there is no loyal voter base to encourage and mobilize, and where they need to challenge existing loyalties of the electorate. Brader (2006) found that Democrats were twice as likely to use fear appeals in states that are Republican, and Republicans do the same in Democrat states.

The percent of women in the state legislature variable aims to capture the variance in women's representation across the states. Women candidates are likely to run for elections and successfully get elected depending on the degree of support they get from voters; and this support varies from state to state. Typically, states that have a number of women in political office and have a culture of being women-friendly, are more likely to have women running for office (Fox, 2004; Ondercin and Welch, 2005). The candidates in these states might employ emotions that are different from those used in other states (such as the South) where women are less likely to run for "masculine" offices (Lublin and Brewer, 2003).

Dependent Variables

The four main dependent variable are fear, anger, enthusiasm and hope. These variables are all dichotomous and are coded 0 for the absence of each emotion and 1 for the presence of each emotion. These variables have been operationalized using theory from existing literature on emotions and politics (example, Lazarus, 1991). The variable fear was defined as being connected with a sense of future harm and the feeling of uncertainty or ambiguity. The ad was coded as displaying fear if the danger hinted at in the text or visuals is concrete, but viewers are not given details about when the danger might come to pass.

Anger ads are defined as those where the main event in the ad is negative and the cause is attributed to another person. The ad is associated with the feeling that people have been slighted or treated unfairly, and blame should be directed at someone or something other than the viewer. Viewers are led to believe that the person who is to blame had control over their actions and they could have acted differently had they so chosen.

Enthusiasm ads are associated with the idea that the current situation is positive, future expectations are positive, and that the overall outlook is positive in general. Enthusiasm is associated with the realization of goals. In ads, this could imply that whatever was promised has been delivered or there has been a reasonable progress toward the realization of that goal.

This is associated with a wish or yearning for relief from a negative situation, or the realization of a positive outcome when the odds do not greatly favor it. This is characterized by the presence of yearning and uncertainty, but also optimism that positive things will happen. Hope cannot be for things that are highly unlikely, nor can it be for things that are almost certain to occur. Future conditions must be unfavorable but not hopeless.

Statistical Analysis

I use a series of logistic regression models to test the hypotheses since the dependent variables of interest are dichotomous. This statistical method helps to examine the impact of ad, candidate, and election demographic characteristics on the use of fear, anger enthusiasm and hope appeals in political ads. I also present predicted probabilities for each hypothesis, which are presented graphically and help to better explain and present the relationships being tested.

I use two different units of analyses in my statistical models. Chapter 6 lists the results from models using "ad airings" as the unit of analysis, while the models in Chapter 7 use unique ads as the unit of analysis. Both models are important in their own way and provide two distinct ways of interpreting the results. The ad airings model represents the amount of money campaigns are willing to spend on airing ads containing one particular emotion or group pf emotions over others containing a different combination of emotions. Since campaigns are likely to invest more money in ads which are expected to make the biggest impact on voters, the ad airings model tells us how often an ad was aired, and therefore it indicates how much importance the campaign gave to one set of emotions over another.

The unique ads model contains much less statistical power than the ad airings model and captures each ad only once, unlike the ad airings model, which captures the repeat airings of ads containing the same combination of emotional appeals. A comparison of the results obtained from the two different models is discussed in the discussion section in Chapter 8.

Table 5.1: Descriptive statistics for variables (using unique ads as unit of analysis)

Variables	*Observations*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Min*	*Max*
Candidate Variables					
Men candidate ads	2739				
Women candidate ads	681				
Democrat candidate ads	1797				
Republican candidate ads	1627				
Winner ads	1749				
Loser ads	1653				
Incumbent ads	1242				
Challenger ads	1322				
Open Seat ads	856				
Election Variables					
Margin	3402				
Primary election ads	488				
General election ads	2932				
Senator ads	954				
Governor ads	254				
House ads	2216				
Ad Variables					
Ads with masculine strategies	2240				
Ads with feminine strategies	2749				
Candidate sponsored ads	2,681				
Interest group sponsored ads	301				
Party sponsored ads	360				
Hybrid sponsored ads	82				

Table 5.1 continued

Variables	*Observations*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Min*	*Max*
Control Variables					
Percent white	3424	71.91	13.42	24.5	95.4
Percent Democrat voters	3424	50.47	7.78	33	83.7
Percent urban population	3424	70.51	12.51	37.3	93.6
Percent college graduates	3424	25.93	5.31	16.9	83.7
Percent below poverty line	3424	13.99	4.80	7.7	83.7
Age	3424	36.97	2.96	28.3	83.7
Percent Women in State Legislature	3424	22.99	8.24	8.8	83.7
Dependent variables					
Anger	1617				
Fear	497				
Enthusiasm	1347				
Hope	1500				

Table 5.2: Descriptive statistics for variables (using ad airings as unit of analysis)

Variables	*Observations*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Min*	*Max*
Candidate Variables					
Men candidate ads	915,723				
Women candidate ads	255,005				
Democrat candidate ads	701,065				
Republican candidate ads	587,763				
Winner ads	642,877				
Loser ads	527,851				
Incumbent ads	459,036				
Challenger ads	443,522				
Open Seat ads	268,170				
Election Variables					
Margin	1,170,728	11.71	10.86	1	99
Primary election ads	91,783				
General election ads	1,078,945				
Senator ads	508,938				
Governor ads	190,315				
House ads	590,865				
Ad Variables					
Ads with masculine strategies	739,338				
Ads with feminine strategies	838,616				
Candidate sponsored ads	841,170				

Table 5.2 continued

Variables	***Observations***	***Mean***	***SD***	***Min***	***Max***
Party sponsored ads	288,709				
Interest group sponsored ads	144,006				
Hybrid sponsored ads	15,994				
Control Variables					
Percent white	1,170,728	73.33	12.38	24.5	95.4
Percent Democrat voters	1,170,728	50.28	7.384	33	72
Percent urban population	1,170,728	69.24	12.26	37.3	93.6
Percent college graduates	1,170,728	25.75	4.47	16.9	37.1
Percent below poverty line	1,170,728	13.90	3.05	7.7	21.1
Age	1,170,728	36.82	1.46	28.3	41.1
Percent Women in State Legislature	1,170,728	23.0258	7.762454	8.8	37.8
Dependent variables					
Anger	662,916				
Fear	243,035				
Enthusiasm	390,249				
Hope	428,619				

Table 5.3: Operational definitions

Dependent Variables	***Operational Definition***	***Coding Method***	***Source***
Fear *(Y_1)*	0= Yes 1= No	1. Fear is associated with a sense of future harm and the feeling of uncertainty or ambiguity. 2. The danger hinted at in the ad is concrete, but since it's uncertain, we can't do anything about it.	2008 Wisconsin Advertising Project
Anger *(Y_2)*	0= Yes 1= No	1. The main event in the ad is negative and the cause is attributed to another person. 2. The ad should be associated with the feeling that people have been slighted or treated unfairly. 3. Blame should be directed at someone or something other than ourselves. 4. We should believe that the person who is to blame had control over their actions and they could have acted differently had they so chosen.	2008 Wisconsin Advertising Project
Enthusiasm *(Y_3)*	0= Yes 1= No	1. This is associated with the idea that the current situation is positive, future expectations are positive, and that the overall outlook is positive in general. 2. Enthusiasm is associated with the realization of goals. In ads, this could imply that whatever was promised has been delivered or there has been a reasonable progress toward the realization of that goal.	2008 Wisconsin Advertising Project
Hope *(Y_4)*	0= Yes 1= No	1. Associated with a wish or yearning for relief from a negative situation, or the realization of a positive outcome when the odds do not greatly favor it. 2. Characterized by presence of uncertainty, but also optimism that positive things will happen. Future conditions must be unfavorable but not hopeless.	2008 Wisconsin Advertising Project

Table 5.3 continued

Dependent Variables	***Operational Definition***	***Coding Method***	***Source***
Candidate Variables			
Candidate Gender (X_1)	0= Male 1= Female		2010 Almanac of American Politics
Opponent Gender (X_2)	0= Male 1= Female		2010 Almanac of American Politics
Candidate Status (X)	0= Challenger 1= Incumbent 2=Open seat		2010 Almanac of American Politics
Party ID (X)	1=Democrat 2=Republican		2010 Almanac of American Politics
Election Variables			
Race Outcome (X)	0=Loss 1=Won		2010 Almanac of American Politics
Type of Election (X)	0=Primary 1=General		2010 Almanac of American Politics
Margin (X)	Percent difference between votes		2010 Almanac of American Politics
Level of Office (X)	1=Senate 2= House 4=Governor		2008 Wisconsin Advertising Project

Table 5.3 continued

Dependent Variables	***Operational Definition***	***Coding Method***	***Source***
Ad Variables			
Type of Ad (X_3)	0= Masculine 1= Feminine	Masculine ads were created by combining ads that: contained aggressiveness; where the candidate appeared with his/her own children or family or the text referred to family; contained statistics; or referred to the candidate's professional experience. Feminine ads were created by combining ads that: featured the candidate in formal clothes; cited an authoritative source; referred to candidate's compassion and outsider status; featured other people's children or families; and referred to candidate's personal experiences.	2008 Wisconsin Advertising Project
Issue Type (X_4)	0=Male 1=Female	Male issues include ads referring to law, foreign policy, and economic issues. Female issues include social welfare and social issues.	2008 Wisconsin Advertising Project
Ad Sponsor	1=Candidate 2=Party 3=Interest Group 4=Hybrid		2008 Wisconsin Advertising Project
Geographic and Demographic Control Variables			
Percent white	Percent white, voters in each state.		2010 Almanac of American Politics

Table 5.3 continued

Dependent Variables	***Operational Definition***	***Coding Method***	***Source***
Percent college graduates	Percentage of people in the state who hold bachelor's degree.		2010 Almanac of American Politics
Percent below poverty line	Percent of people in the state below poverty line		2010 Almanac of American Politics
Age	Voters' age		2010 Almanac of American Politics
Presidential Vote	0=Republican 1=Democrat		2010 Almanac of American Politics
Percent Women in State Legislature	Percent of women in the state legislature		Center for American Women and Politics factsheet

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CHAPTER 6. RESULTS USING AD AIRINGS AS UNIT OF ANALYSIS

To test the hypotheses presented in Chapters 4 and 5, I estimated a series of binary logistic regression models. In this chapter the unit of analysis is ad airings. In the next chapter, I discuss the results for models where the unit of analysis is unique ads. The results of analysis from the ad airings model is summarized in Table 6.11.

Results for Candidate Variables

H1: Women candidates are more likely to use positive emotions than male candidates.

H2: Women candidates are less likely to use negative emotions than male candidates.

Drawing from the discussion in Chapter 5 about women being stereotypically associated with positive emotions and men being associated with negative emotions, the first hypothesis predicted that women candidates will be more likely to use positive emotions such as hope and enthusiasm in their ad campaigns. This hypothesis was not supported (see Table 6.1). Women candidates were less likely than men to use enthusiasm appeals in their ads, though this relationship was not significant (B=-.08, rse=.01, p>.05). Women were also less likely than men to use hope appeals in their ads (B=-.31, rse=.01, p<.001). As Figure 6.1 illustrates, the predicted probability of using enthusiasm appeals is 0.26 for women, compared to 0.27 for men candidates. Figure 6.2 compares the predicted probability of using hope appeals, and as the figure shows, the difference in probabilities between men and women is 0.7, with men more likely to use hope appeals.

Conversely, the second hypothesis predicted that women will be less likely than men to use the negative emotions of fear and anger in their political ads. This hypothesis was also unsupported (see Table 6.1). Women candidates are more likely to use fear appeals (B=.003, rse=.01, p<.001), and more likely to use anger appeals in their ads than male candidates (B=.44,

rse=.01, p<.001). This finding is in line with previous research (for example, Ridout and Searles, 2011; Brader, 2006) that finds women more likely to use anger appeals than men. Figures 6.3 and 6.4 graphically illustrate this relationship between the emotions and candidate gender. Both men and women have a predicted probability of .013 of using fear appeals, while the difference in predicted probabilities for anger appeals is .1 more for women than men.

This baseline model also indicated that Democrats are more likely to use fear (B=.79, rse=.01, p<.001) and anger appeals (B=.15, rse=.01, p<.001) and less likely to use enthusiasm (B= -.29, rse= .01, p<.001) and hope appeals (B= -.47, rse= .01, p<.001). Candidates running against a female opponent are more likely to use fear (B=.14, rse=.01, p<.001) and anger (B=.14, rse=.01, p<.001) appeals and less likely to use positive appeals such as enthusiasm (B=-.39, rse=.01, p<.001) and hope (B= -.03, rse=.01, p<.001).

Ads sponsored by candidates are less likely than interest group ads to have negative emotions such as fear (B= -2.03, rse=.01, p<.001)) and anger (B= -1.17, rse=.01, p<.001) and more likely to have positive emotions such as enthusiasm (B=1.01, rse=.01, p<.001) and hope (B=2.23, rse=.01, p<.001). Less competitive races are less likely to have ads with negative emotions such as fear (B= -.03, rse=.001, p<.001) and anger (B= -.02, rse=.001, p<.001). House races are less likely to have ads with fear (B= -.12, rse=.01, p<.001), anger (B= -.44, rse= .01, p<.001) and hope appeals (B= -.21, rse= .01, p<.001) as compared to gubernatorial races. Senate races are more likely to have fear (B=.04, rse=.01, p<.001) and enthusiasm appeals (B=.52, rse=.01, p<.001) compared to gubernatorial races.

Lastly, state-level demographics also affect the use of emotions in ads. As the number of Democrat voters in the state increases, the use of fear (B=-.05, rse=.001, p<.001), anger (B= -.01,

rse= .001, p<.001) and enthusiasm (B= -.001, rse=.001, p<.001) appeals decreases and the use of hope appeals (B=.03, rse=.001, p<.001) increases.

Table 6.1: Men and women candidates' use of negative and positive emotions

	Fear	Anger	Enthusiasm	Hope
Candidate characteristics				
Women candidates	.003***	.44***	-.08	-.31***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Democrat	.79***	.15***	-.29***	-.47***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Female opponent	.14***	.14***	-.39***	-.03***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Incumbent	.27***	-.46***	.60***	-.32***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Open seat	-.09***	-.05***	-.06***	.50***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Winner	.20***	-.55***	.65***	-.06***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Election characteristics				
General election	.69***	.82***	-.94***	-.36***
	(.02)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Margin	-.03***	-.02***	.02***	.02***
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
House	-.12***	-.44***	.01***	-.21***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Senate	.04***	-.25***	.52***	-.41***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Ad characteristics				
Candidate sponsor	-2.03***	-1.17***	1.01***	2.23***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Party sponsor	.78***	1.25***	-1.85***	0.06***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Hybrid sponsor	-1.80***	-1.001***	.72***	1.64***
	(.03)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Demographics				
Democrat state	-.07***	-.01***	-.001	.03***
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
Percent white	-.03***	.01***	-.003***	.01***
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
Voter age	.14***	-.01	-.02***	-.06***
	(.003)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)

Table 6.1 continued

	Fear	Anger	Enthusiasm	Hope
Percent urban	-.01***	.02***	-.004***	-.01***
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
Percent college graduates	.03***	.001	-.06***	-.02***
	(.002)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
Percent below poverty line	.01***	.06***	-.08***	-.07***
	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)
Percent women in state legislature	.05***	.01***	.005***	-.02***
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
Constant	-2.73***	-1.37***	2.74***	1.49***
	(.13)	(.09)	(.09)	(.09)

Model1 (Fear) chi^2= 227391.38*** df= 20; log likelihood=-430227.77; Pseudo R^2=0.28, N= 1169356
Model 2(Anger) chi^2= 185925.23*** df=20; log likelihood=-658352.48; Pseudo R^2=0.18; N= 1169356
Model 2(Enthusiasm) chi^2= 166523.49*** df=20; log likelihood= -612812.97; Pseudo R^2=0.18; N= 1169356. Model 2(Hope) chi^2= 196977.72*** df= 20; log likelihood= -621445.59; Pseudo R^2=0.18; N= 1143400. *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.
Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

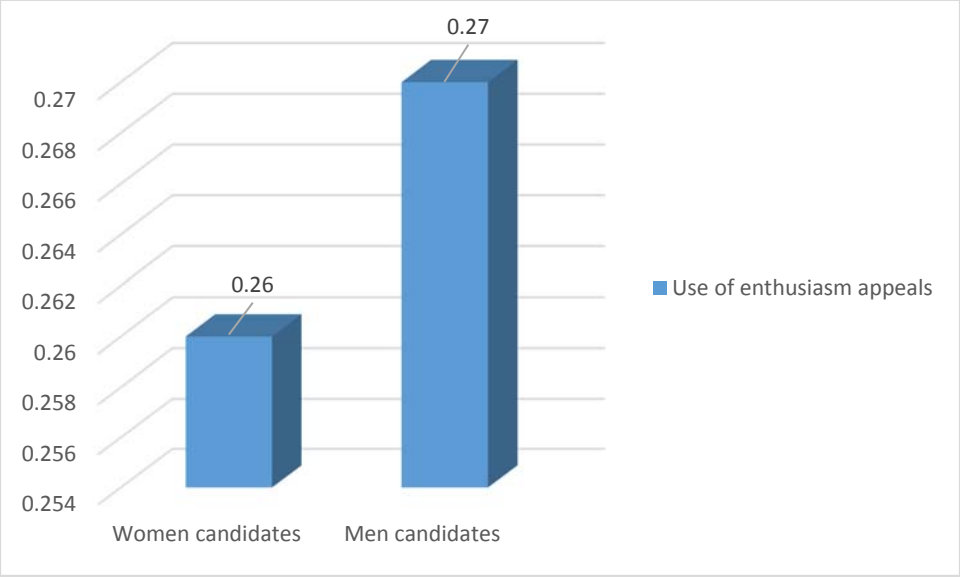

Figure 6.1: Comparison of predicted probability of using enthusiasm appeals by women and male candidates.

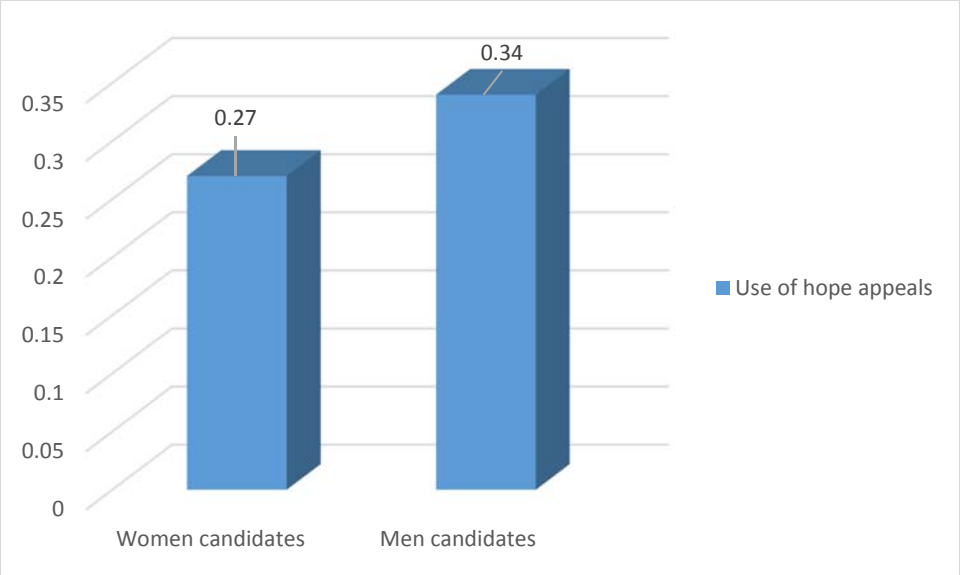

Figure 6.2: Comparison of predicted probability of using hope appeals by women and male candidates.

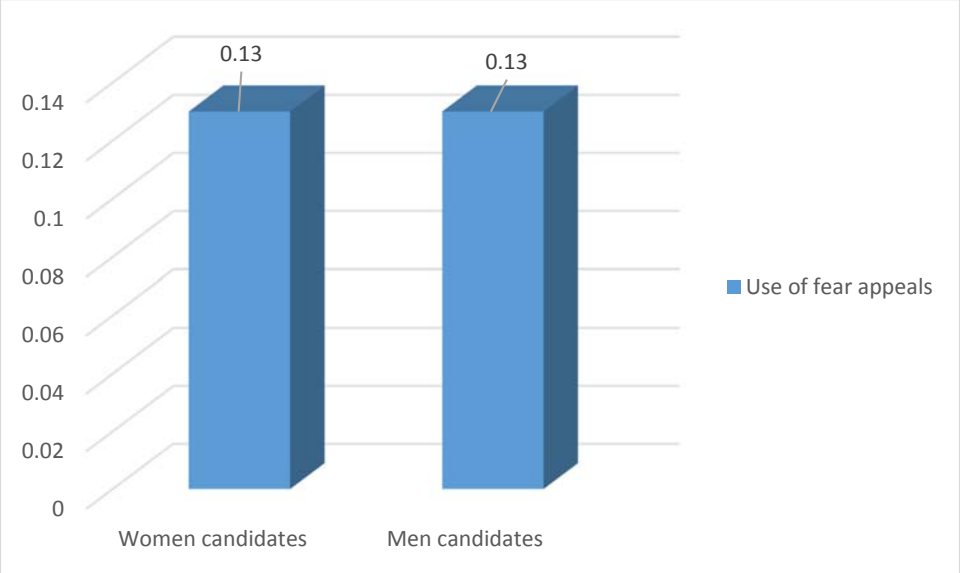

Figure 6.3: Comparison of predicted probability of using fear appeals by women and male candidates.

H3a: Democrat women are likely to differ from Republican women in the use of positive emotions.

H3b: Democrat women are likely to differ from Republican women in the use of negative emotions.

Hypotheses 3a and 3b were non-directional and examined the impact of party and gender on the use of positive and negative emotional appeals for women candidates. Hypothesis 3a predicted that Democrat women will differ from Republican women in the use of positive emotions. This hypothesis was supported as shown by Table 6.2. Democrat women are more likely to use enthusiasm (B=.06, rse=.01, p<.001) and hope appeals (B=.90, rse=.01, p<.001) in their ads compared to women Republicans. As shown in Figures 6.4 and 6.5, the difference in the predicted probability of using enthusiasm appeals is 0.01 and 0.16 for hope appeals.

Hypothesis 3b predicted a difference between the two groups in their likelihood of using negative emotional appeals. This hypothesis is partially supported. Women Democrats are significantly less likely to use fear (B=-.80, rse=.02, p<.001) appeals. They are also less likely to use anger appeals (B= -.05, rse=.01, p>.05), than Republican women, though the difference between the two groups is not significant at p<.05. As shown in Figures 6.6 and 6.7, the difference in predicted probabilities of using fear appeals is 0.1, and there is no difference between women Democrats and women Republicans in the predicted probability of using anger appeals.

Table 6.2: Factors predicting the use of negative and positive emotions by Republican and Democrat women

	Fear	Anger	Enthusiasm	Hope
Candidate characteristics				
Women Democrat	-.80***	-.05	.06***	.90***
	(.02)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Male Democrat	-.79***	-.50***	.24***	1.06***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Male Republican	-.01	-.32***	-.10***	.67***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Female opponent	.14***	.15***	-.40***	-.02***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Incumbent candidate	.27***	-.46***	.61***	-.34***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Open seat	-.09***	-.06***	-.05***	.48***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Winner	.19***	-.54***	.64***	-.04***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Election characteristics				
General election	.69***	.81***	-.92***	-.40***
	(.02)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Margin	-.03***	-.02***	.02***	.02***
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
House	-.12***	-.42***	-.03***	-.16***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Senate	.03**	-.23***	.50***	-.36***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Ad characteristics				
Candidate sponsor	-2.03***	-1.17***	1.01***	2.25***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Party sponsor	.78***	1.26***	-1.86***	.07***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Hybrid sponsor	-1.80***	-1.0***	.71***	1.67***
	(.03)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Demographics				
Democrat state	-.07***	-.01***	.001	.03***
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
Percent white	-.03***	.01***	-.003***	.01***
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
Voter age	.14***	-.01*	-.02***	-.05***
	(.003)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)

Table 6.2 continued

	Fear	Anger	Enthusiasm	Hope
Percent urban	-.01***	.02***	-.004***	-.01***
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
Percent college graduates	.03***	.001	-.06***	-.01***
	(.002)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
Percent below poverty line	.01*	.06***	-.08***	-.07***
	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)
Percent women in state legislature	.05***	.01***	.01***	-.02***
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
Constant	-1.15***	-.77***	2.34***	-.25**
	(.13)	(.09)	(.09)	(.09)

Model1 (Fear) chi^2= 227908.74*** df=21; log likelihood= -430227.45; Pseudo R^2=0.28, N= 1169356

Model 2(Anger) chi^2= 185642.82*** df=21; log likelihood= -658236.7; Pseudo R^2=0.18, N= 1169356.

Model 2(Enthusiasm) chi^2= 165999.82*** df=21; log likelihood= -612541.14; Pseudo R^2=0.18, N= 1169356.

Model 2(Hope) chi^2= 196176.23*** df= 21; log likelihood= -620670.8; Pseudo R^2=0.18, N= 1143400. *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

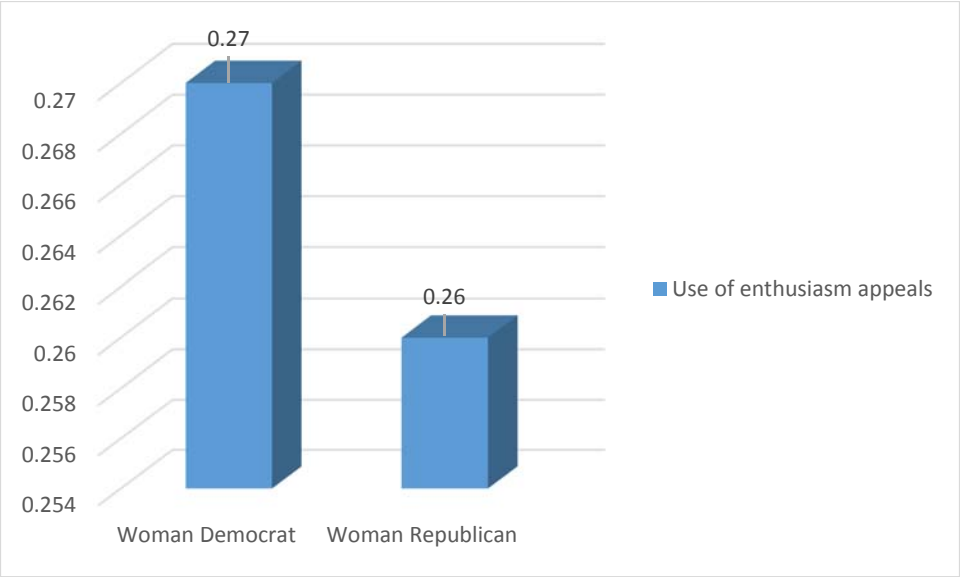

Figure 6.4: Comparison of predicted probability of using enthusiasm appeals by women Democrats and Republicans.

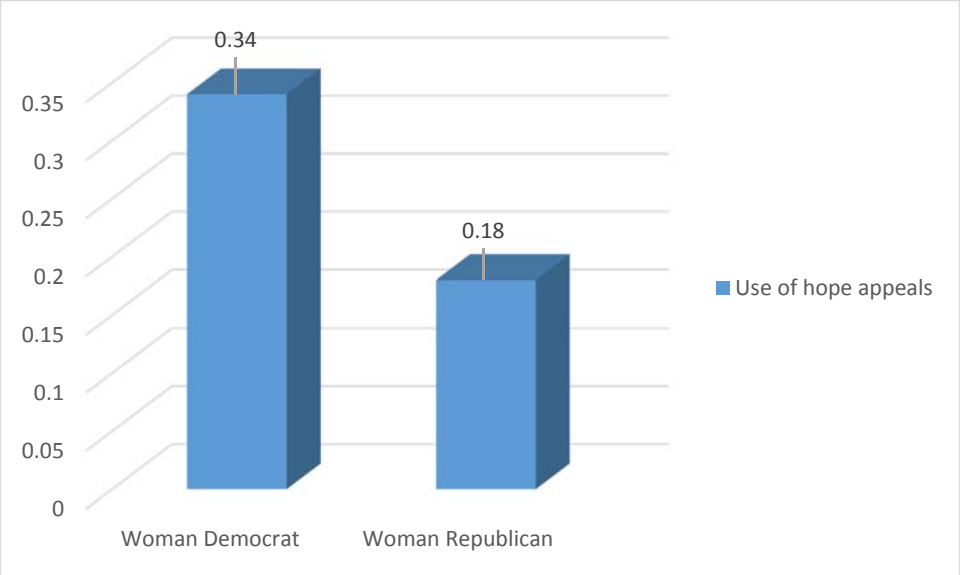

Figure 6.5: Comparison of predicted probability of using hope appeals by women Democrats and Republicans.

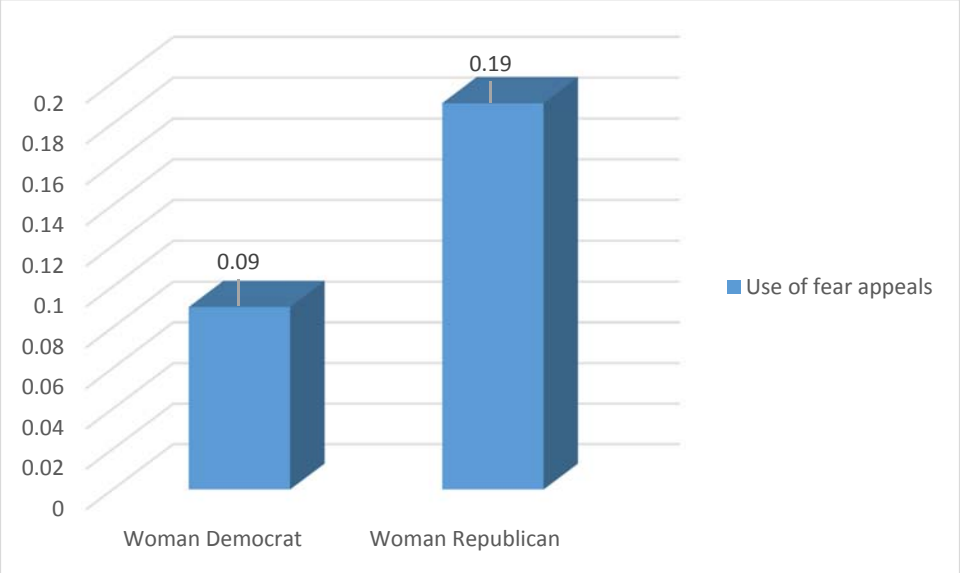

Figure 6.6: Comparison of predicted probability of using fear appeals by women Democrats and male Republicans.

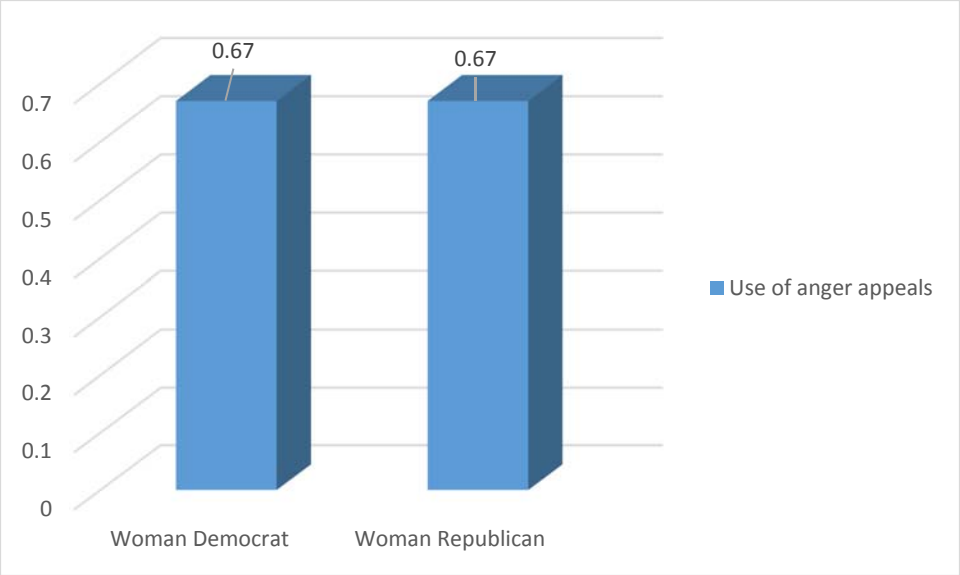

Figure 6.7: Comparison of predicted probability of using anger appeals by women Democrats and Republicans.

H4a: Democrat and Republican men are likely to differ in the use of positive emotional appeals.

H4b: Democrat and Republican men are likely to differ in the use of negative emotional appeals.

Hypothesis 4a stated that Democrat men and Republican men will differ in their use of positive emotional appeals. As Table 6.3 shows, this hypothesis is partially supported. Male Democrats are more likely to use hope appeals (B=.36, rse= .01, p<.001), but less likely to use enthusiasm appeals (B= -.001, rse= .01, p>.05) though this last relationship is not significant. Figures 6.8 amd 6.9 show that the difference in the predicted probability of using enthusiasm appeals is .07 and it is .09 for hope appeals. The second hypothesis predicted that there would be a difference in the use of fear and anger appeals between Democrat and Republican men. This hypothesis is partially supported as men Democrats are significantly less likely to use fear appeals (B= -.18, rse=.01 p<.001) but more likely to use anger appeals (B=.13, rse= .01, p>.05), though this last relationship is not significant at the p<.05 level). The difference in the predicted probability of using fear appeals is 0.09 and the difference is 0.04 for anger appeals (see Figures 6.10 and 6.11).

Table 6.3: Factors predicting the use of positive and negative appeals by men Democrats and Republicans

	Fear	Anger	Enthusiasm	Hope
Candidate characteristics				
Women Democrat	-.39***	.40***	.06***	.17***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Male Democrat	-.18***	.13***	-.001	.36***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Female	.04***	.26***	.12***	-.62***
Republican	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Democrat state	-.05***	-.001	-.01***	.03***
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
Female opponent	.34***	.25***	-.49***	-.05***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Candidate status	-.01	-.08***	.06***	.18***
	(.004)	(.003)	(.003)	(.003)
Winner	.05***	-.60***	.74***	-.07***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.005)
Election characteristics				
General election	1.15***	.86***	-.88***	-.63***
	(.02)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Margin	-.05***	-.03***	.03***	.02***
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
House	.12***	-.37***	-.05***	-.31***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Senate	.56***	-.21***	.48***	-.63***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Ad characteristics				
Sponsor	.99***	.83***	-.82***	-1.26***
	(.003)	(.004)	(.01)	(.01)
Demographics				
Percent white	-.03***	.003***	.001	.01***
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
Voter age	.10***	-.02***	-.01	-.06***
	(.003)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)
Percent urban	-.02***	.01***	.01***	-.01***
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
Education	.01***	.01***	-.07***	.001
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
Poverty	-.03***	.06***	-.09***	-.04***
	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)

Table 6.3 continued

	Fear	Anger	Enthusiasm	Hope
Percent women in state legislature	.04*** (.001)	.01*** (.001)	.005*** (.001)	-.02*** (.001)
Constant	-1.90*** (.12)	-2.39*** (.08)	3.20*** (.09)	3.88*** (.09)

Model1 (Fear) chi^2= 147963.69*** df=18; log likelihood= -489572.6; Pseudo R^2=0.18, N= 1169356
Model 2(Anger) chi^2= 133286.58*** df=17; log likelihood= -703827.4; Pseudo R^2=0.12, N= 1169356
Model 2(Enthusiasm) chi^2= 117735.44*** df=17; log likelihood= -662281.53; Pseudo R^2=0.11, N= 1169356. Model 2(Hope) chi^2= 131076.81*** df=18; log likelihood= -646249.96; Pseudo R^2=0.15, N= 1143400. *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.
Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

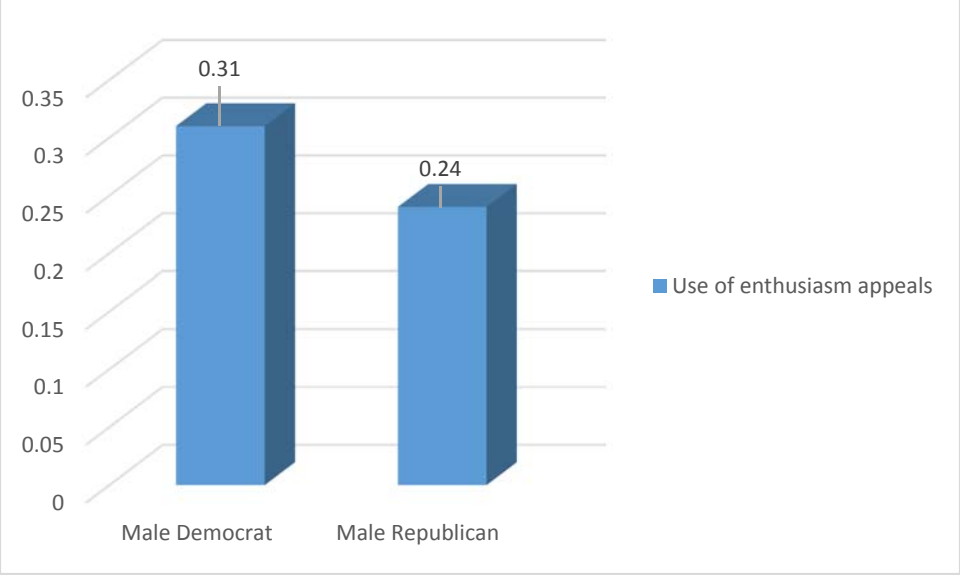

Figure 6.8: Comparison of predicted probability of using enthusiasm appeals by male Democrats and Republicans.

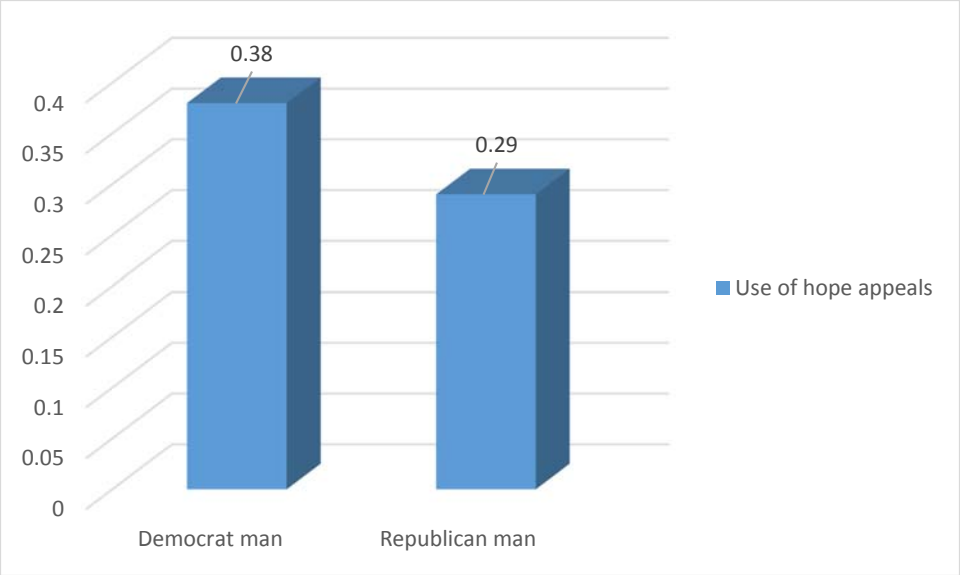

Figure 6.9: Comparison of predicted probability of using hope appeals by male Democrats and Republicans.

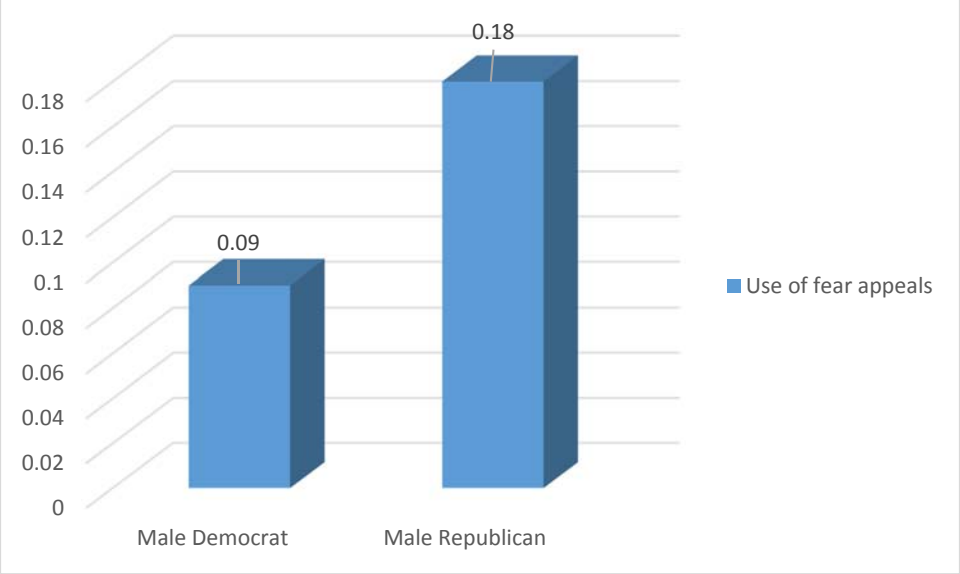

Figure 6.10: Comparison of predicted probability of using fear appeals by male Democrats and Republicans.

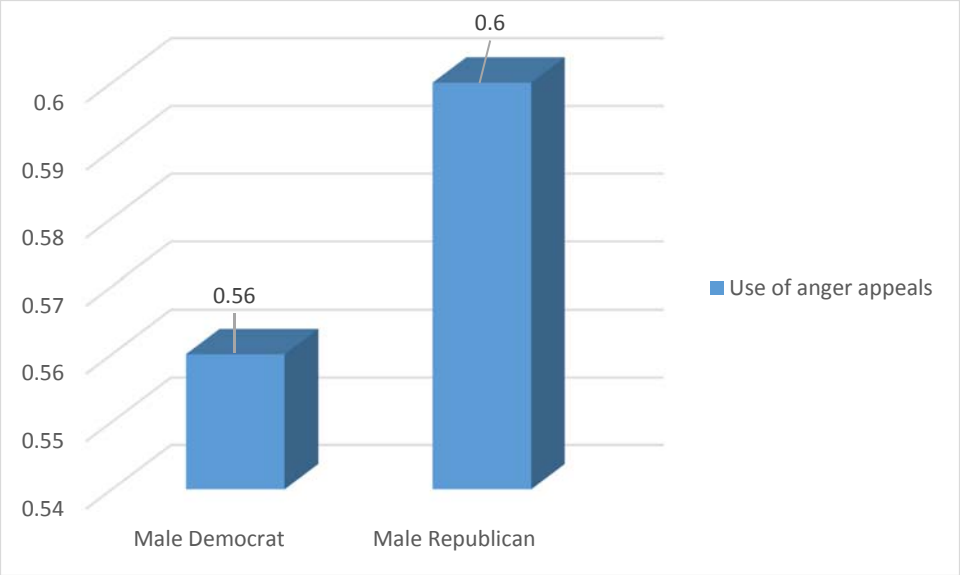

Figure 6.11: Comparison of predicted probability of using anger appeals by male Democrats and Republicans.

H5: Women running against male candidates are more likely to use fear appeals than women running against female candidates.

H6: Women running against men candidates are less likely to use anger appeals than women running against female candidates.

Hypotheses 5 and 6 look into the impact of candidate gender and the opponent's gender on the use of negative emotional appeals. Hypothesis 5 draws from the role of fear as an emotion that causes voters to reconsider their decisions. Considering the negative and significant slope coefficient for the use of fear appeals as shown in Table 6.4, Hypothesis 5 is unsupported. Women are less likely to use fear (B= -.32, rse=.01, p<.001) when running against male candidates, and the difference in predicted probabilities for the use of fear appeals, as shown in Figure 6.12 is 0.04.

Hypothesis 6 is also unsupported, as women candidates running against men are less likely to use anger (B= -.32, rse=.01, p<.001) appeals (see Table 6.4). As shown in Figure 6.13, the difference in the predicted probability of women candidates using anger appeals based on the gender of their opponents is 0.07.

As Table 6.4 shows, male candidates are less likely to use negative emotions against their female competitors as well as their male counterparts. From these results, it appears that races where women run against other women are most likely to see the highest use of fear and anger appeals in ads.

Table 6.4: Factors predicting the use of fear appeals by women candidates against male and female opponents

	Fear			Anger		
	B	rse	Min-Max	B	rse	Min-Max
Candidate characteristics						
Women against male opponent	-.32***	.01	-.03	-.32***	.01	-.08
Male against female opponent	-.22***	.01	-.02	-.63***	.01	-.16
Male against male opponent	-.23***	.01	-.03	-.70***	.01	-.16
Incumbent candidate	.24***	.01	.03	-.47***	.01	-.11
Open seat	-.09***	.01	-.01	-.05***	.01	-.01
Winner	.20***	.01	.02	-.55***	.01	-.13
Democrat	.80***	.01	.09	.16***	.01	.04
Election characteristics						
General election	.69***	.02	.06	.82***	.01	.20
Margin	-.03***	.001	-.16	-.02***	.001	-.51
House	-.20***	.01	-.02	-.48***	.01	-.11
Senate	-.05***	.01	-.01	-.29***	.01	-.07
Ad characteristics						
Candidate sponsor	-2.03***	.01	-.30	-1.17***	.01	-.26
Party sponsor	.77***	.01	.10	1.24***	.01	.26
Hybrid sponsor	-1.81***	.03	-.11	-1.02***	.02	-.25
Demographics						
Democrat state	-.07***	.001	-.28	-.01***	.001	-.07
Percent white	-.03***	.001	-.36	.01***	.001	.11

Table 6.4 continued

	Fear			Anger		
	B	rse	Min-Max	B	rse	Min-Max
Voter age	.14***	.003	.17	-.01	.01	-.02
Percent urban	-.01***	.001	-.07	.02***	.001	.25
Percent college graduates	.02***	.002	.05	-.001	.001	-.01
Percent below poverty line	.003	.002	.01	.061***	.002	.20
Percent women in state legislature	.05***	.001	.17	.011***	.001	.08
Constant	-2.49***	.13		-.64***	.09	

Model1 (Fear) chi^2= 228315.28*** df= 21; log likelihood= -430073.81; Pseudo R^2=0.28, N= 1169356. Model 2 (Anger) chi^2= 184898.57*** df= 21; log likelihood= -658204.59; Pseudo R^2=0.18 N= 1169356. *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

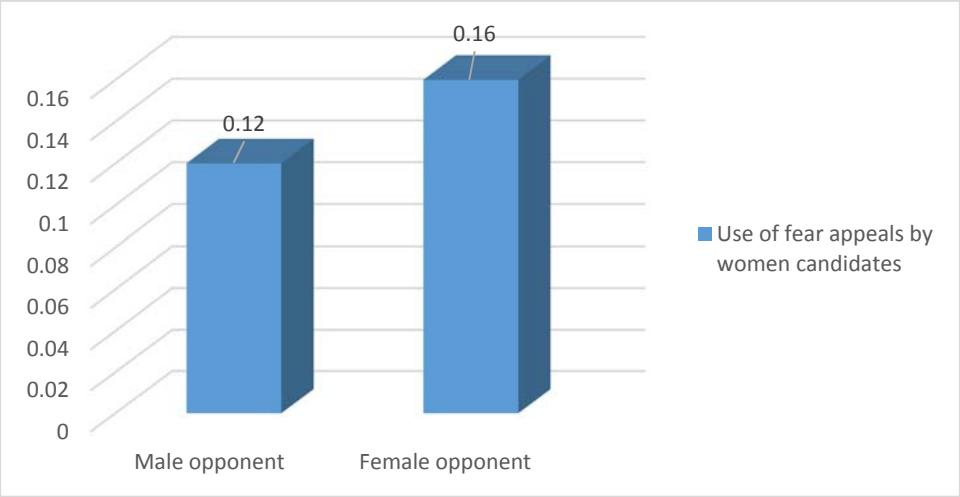

Figure 6.12: Comparison of predicted probability of women candidates using fear appeals against male and female opponents.

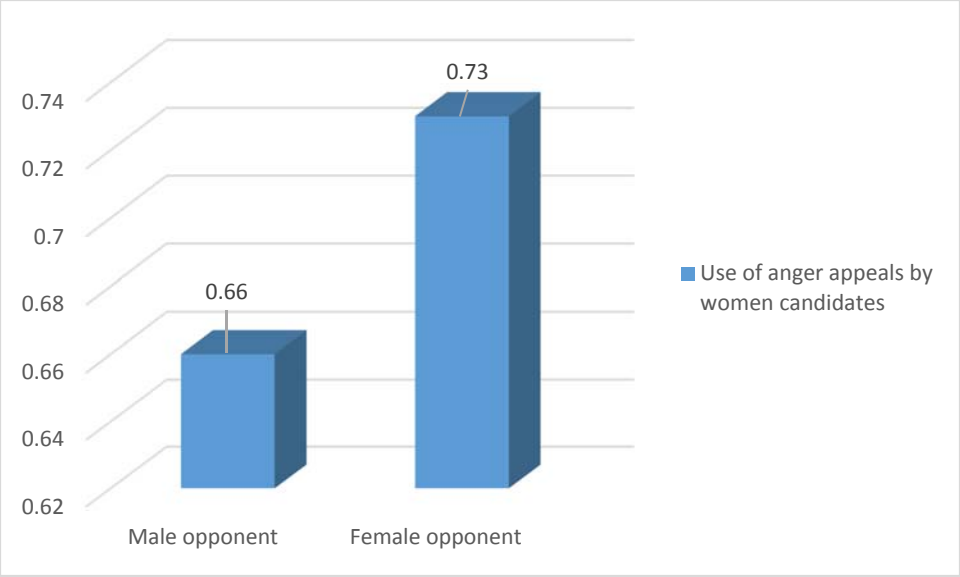

Figure 6.13: Comparison of predicted probability of using anger appeals by women candidates against male and female opponents.

Results for Election Variables

H7a: Women candidates in Senate races are likely to differ in their use of fear appeals from men running in Senate races.

H7b: Women candidates in House races are likely to differ in their use of fear appeals from men running in House races.

H7c: Women candidates in Governor races are likely to differ in their use of fear appeals from men running in Governor races.

Hypotheses 7a, 7b and 7c are non-directional and refer to the use of emotions in Senate, House and Governor races. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the expectation of gender differences in these offices stems from the argument that some offices are stereotypically associated with women than others. While some scholars argue that legislative offices such as the House and Senate are feminine on account of their feminine working style, others argue that the Senate could be considered male because it deals with male issues such as taxes, foreign policy and defense. Similarly, scholars debate about the gendered nature of the office of governor—some argue it should be considered female on account of the domestic issues it deals

with, while others cite the executive nature of the office and consider it male. Hypothesis 7a predicted that women and men candidates running for Senate are likely to differ in their use of fear as an emotional appeal. This hypothesis is supported (see Table 6.4. B=.04, rse=.01, p<.01). Women are more likely to use fear appeals than men when running for Senate seats. As Figure 6.14 graphically illustrates, there is a 0.01 difference in the predicted probability of using fear appeals between female and male candidates running for the U.S. Senate.

Hypothesis 7b predicted that women candidates running for House seats will differ from men in their use of fear appeals. As shown in Table 6.4, this hypothesis is supported (B= -.41, rse=.01, p<.001). Women are less likely to use fear appeals when running for House seats. Figure 6.15 graphically represents the 0.04 difference in predicted probabilities between the two comparison groups.

Hypothesis 7c, which predicted that women candidates running for the office of Governor will differ from men in their use of fear appeals is also supported (B=.90, rse=.13, p<.001). Women are more likely to use fear appeals than men candidates. Figure 6.16 graphically illustrates that the difference in predicted probabilities of using fear emotions between men and women candidates is 0.11.

To summarize, women are women are more likely to use fear appeals than men when running for Senate and Governor races, and less likely to use fear appeals when running for House races.

Table 6.5: Factors predicting the use of fear appeals in Senate, House and Governor elections

	Senate		House		Governor	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Candidate characteristics						
Women X Senate	.04**	0.01	.14***	0.02	.47***	0.06
	(.01)		(.01)		(.01)	
Men X Senate			.10	0.01	.43***	0.05
			(.01)		(.01)	
Women X House	-.51***	-0.05	-.41***	-0.04	-.08***	-0.01
	(.02)		(.01)		(.02)	
Men X House	-.10***	-0.01			.34***	0.04
	(.01)				(.01)	
Women X Governor	.47***	0.06	.56***	0.08	.90***	0.13
	(.02)		(.02)		(.02)	
Men X Governor	-.43***	-0.04	-.34***	-0.03		
	(.01)		(.01)			
Incumbent candidate	.20***	0.02	.20***	0.02	.20***	0.02
	(.01)		(.01)		(.01)	
Open seat	-.12***	-0.01	-.12***	-0.01	-.12***	-0.01
	(.01)		(.01)		(.01)	
Democrat	.84***	0.10	.84***	0.10	.84***	0.10
	(.01)		(.01)		(.01)	
Female opponent	.27***	0.03	.27***	0.03	.27***	0.03
	(.01)		(.01)		(.01)	
Winner	.15***	0.02	.15***	0.02	.15***	0.02
	(.01)		(.01)		(.01)	
Election characteristics						
General election	.65***	0.06	.65***	0.06	.65***	0.06
	(.02)		(.02)		(.02)	
Margin	-.03***	-0.15	-.03***	-0.15	-.03***	-0.15
	(.001)		(.001)		(.001)	
Ad characteristics						
Candidate sponsor	-2.01***	-0.29	-2.01***	-0.29	-2.01***	-0.29
	(.01)		(.01)		(.01)	
Party sponsor	.86***	0.12	.86***	0.12	.86***	0.12
	(.01)		(.01)		(.01)	
Hybrid sponsor	-1.78***	-0.11	-1.77***	-0.11	-1.77***	-0.11
	(.03)		(.03)		(.03)	

Table 6.5 continued

	Senate		House		Governor	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Demographics						
Democrat state	-.07***	-0.28	-.07***	-0.28	-.07***	-0.28
	(.001)		(.001)		(.001)	
Percent white	-.03***	-0.30	-.03***	-0.30	-.03***	-0.30
	(.001)		(.001)		(.001)	
Voter age	.13***	0.16	.13***	0.16	.13***	0.16
	(.003)		(.003)		(.003)	
Percent urban	-.01***	-0.05	-.01***	-0.05	-.01***	-0.05
	(.001)		(.001)		(.001)	
Percent college graduates	.03***	0.07	.03***	0.07	.03***	0.07
	(.002)		(.002)		(.002)	
Percent below poverty line	.01***	0.02	.01***	0.02	.01***	0.02
	(.002)		(.002)		(.002)	
Percent women in state legislature	.05***	0.16	.05***	0.16	.05***	0.16
	(.001)		(.001)		(.001)	
Constant	-3.25***		-3.34***		-3.68***	
	(.13)		(.13)		(.13)	

Senate: chi^2=237561.30*** df= 22; log likelihood= -428609.23; Pseudo R^2=0.28, N=1169356.
House: chi^2=237561.30*** df= 22; log likelihood= -428609.23; Pseudo R^2=0.28 N=1169356.
Governor: chi^2=237561.30*** df= 22; log likelihood=-428609.23; Pseudo R^2=0.28 N=1169356.
*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

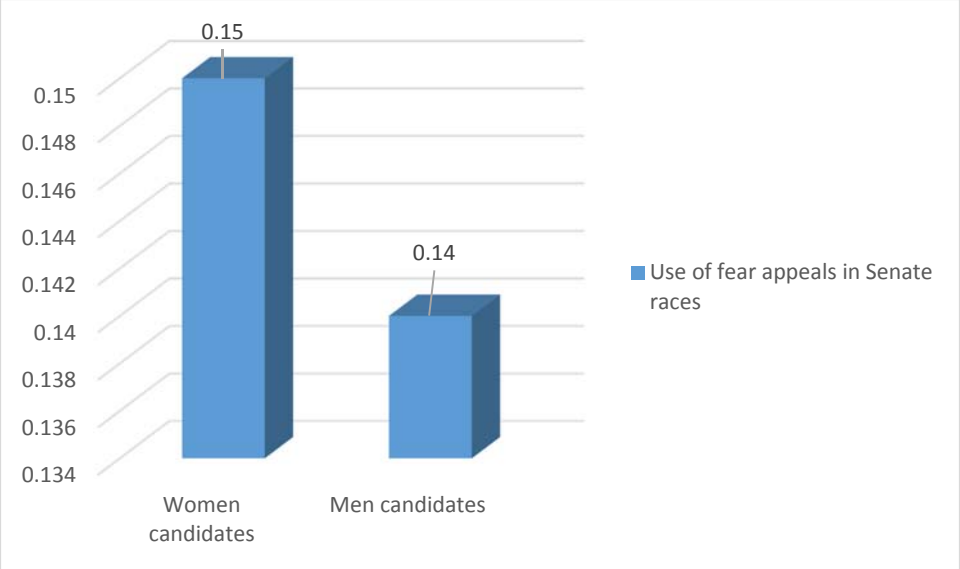

Figure 6.14: Comparison of predicted probability of using fear appeals in Senate races by men and women candidates.

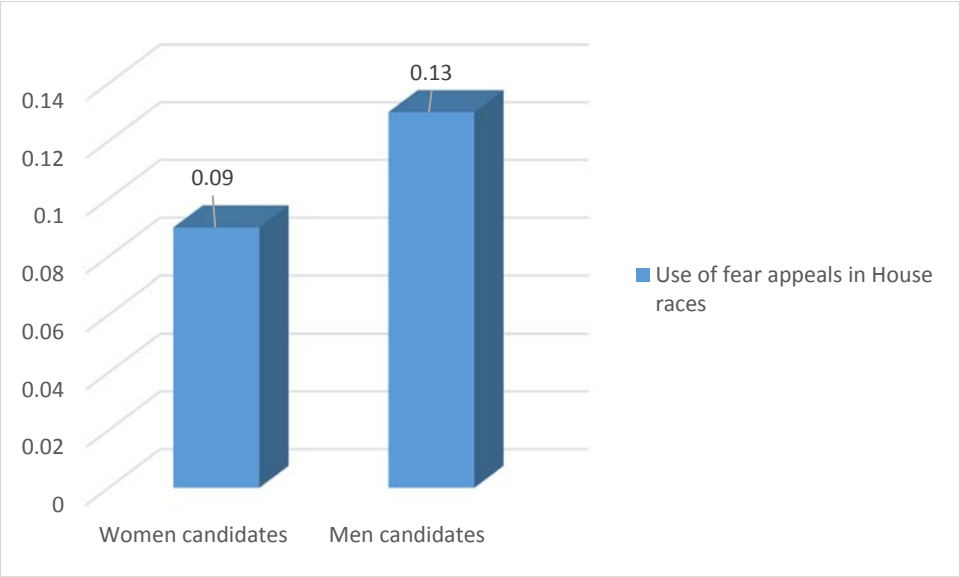

Figure 6.15: Comparison of predicted probability of using fear appeals in House races by men and women candidates.

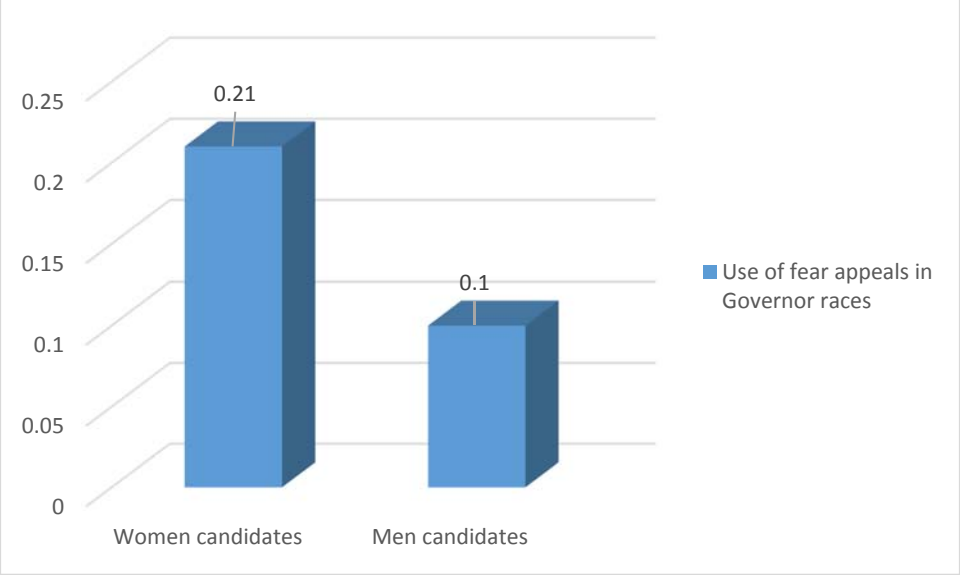

Figure 6.16: Comparison of predicted probability of using fear appeals in Governor races by men and women candidates.

H8a: Women Democrats running for competitive elections are more likely to use fear appeals than male Democrats.

H8b: Male Republicans running for competitive elections use fear appeals differently from male Democrats.

H8c: Women Republicans running for competitive elections are more likely to use fear appeals than women Democrats.

H8d: Women Republicans running for competitive elections are more likely to use fear appeals than male Republicans.

Hypotheses 8a and 8b and 8c examined the likelihood of candidate gender and party affecting the use of fear appeals in competitive elections. As shown in Table 6.5, competitiveness is measured by the variable "margin," which indicates the margin of victory. The bigger the margin, the less competitive the race, and the smaller the margin, the more competitive the race. Hypothesis 8a predicted that women Democrats running for competitive elections will be more likely to use fear appeals than male Democrats. Results from Model 1 show that this hypothesis was supported (B= -.05, rse=.02, p<.001). The negative slope coefficient indicates that the higher the margin (i.e. the lower the competitiveness), the less likely women Democrats are to use fear appeals. Figure 6.17 shows that the difference in the predicted probability of using fear appeals is 0.04 for highly competitive races (margin=1), 0.01 for mean competitive races (margin=11.7), and 0.04 for low competitive races (margin=99). To sum up, women Democrats have a lower likelihood of using fear appeals in less competitive races as compared with male Democrats. As the level of competition decreases, the predicted probability of using fear appeals goes up for men Democrats. Hypothesis 8b predicted that men Democrats and Republicans will differ in their use of fear appeals in elections according to the level of

competitiveness. This hypothesis was supported. Results showed that male Republicans are more likely to use fear emotions when the race is more competitive (B= -0.05, rse= 0.001, p<.001). Figure 6.18 shows that there is a 0.18 difference between male Democrats and Republicans in the predicted probability of using fear appeals in highly competitive elections. The difference in the predicted probability of using fear appeals in a mean competitive race is 0.08, and it is in 0.06 in less competitive elections.

Hypothesis 8c predicted that women Democrats are more likely to use fear appeals than women Republicans in competitive races. This hypothesis was supported. Women Democrats are more likely to use fear appeals (B= -.02, rse= .002, p<.001) in competitive races. The difference in predicted probabilities is .11 for highly competitive elections, 0.11 for mean competitive elections and 0.009 for low competitive elections.

Hypothesis 8d predicted that women Republicans will be more likely to use fear appeals than male Republicans in competitive elections. Thus hypothesis is supported (B= -.03, rse=0.27, p<.001). The difference in predicted probabilities of using fear appeals is 0.02 for highly competitive elections, .01 for mean competitive elections, and 0.009 for low competitive elections.

Table 6.6: Factors predicting the use of fear appeals in competitive elections

	Model 1		Model 2	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Candidate characteristics				
Democrat woman	-.76*** (.02)	-0.07		
Republican woman	-.12*** (.02)	-0.01	.64*** (.03)	0.09
Republican man			.76*** (.02)	0.09

Table 6.6 continued

	Model 1		Model 2	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Democrat man	-1.24***	-0.13	-.48***	-0.05
	(.01)		(.02)	
Democrat Woman X competitive	-.05*	-0.03	-.02***	-.03
	(.02)		(.002)	
Democrat Man X competitive	-.05***	-0.03	.03***	.02
	(.001)		(.002)	
Republican Man X competitive			-.02***	-.03
			(.002)	
Republican Woman X competitive	-.03***	0.27		
	(.002)			
Female opponent	.16***	0.02	.16***	0.02
	(.01)		(.01)	
Incumbent candidate	.20***	0.02	.20***	0.02
	(.01)		(.01)	
Open seat	-.15***	-0.02	-.15***	-0.02
	(.01)		(.01)	
Winner	.23***	0.03	.23***	0.03
	(.01)		(.01)	
Election characteristics				
General election	.68***	0.06	.68***	0.06
	(.02)		(.02)	
Margin	-.05***	-0.21	-.06***	-0.21
	(.001)		(.002)	
House	-.03*	-0.01	-.03*	-0.01
	(.01)		(.01)	
Senate	.14***	0.02	.14***	0.02
	(.01)		(.01)	
Ad characteristics				
Candidate sponsor	-2.02***	-0.29	-2.02***	-0.29
	(.01)		(.01)	
Party sponsor	.81***	0.11	.80***	0.11
	(.01)		(.01)	
Hybrid sponsor	-1.82***	-0.11	-1.82***	-0.11
	(.03)		(.03)	
Demographics				
Democrat state	-.06***	-0.27	-.06***	-0.27
	(.001)		(.001)	
Percent white	-.03***	-0.38	-.03***	-0.38
	(.001)		(.001)	
Voter age	.13***	0.16	.13***	0.16
	(.003)		(.003)	
Percent urban	-.01***	-0.07	-.01***	-0.07
	(.001)		(.001)	

Table 6.6 continued

	Model 1		Model 2	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Percent college graduates	.02*** (.002)	0.05	.02*** (.002)	0.05
Percent below poverty line	-.01 (.002)	-0.01	-.01 (.01)	-0.01
Percent women in state legislature	.05*** (.001)	0.17	.05*** (.001)	0.17
Constant	-.57*** (.13)		-1.32*** .13	

Model1chi^2= 229109.62***df= 24; log likelihood=-428187.19; Pseudo R^2=0.28, N= 1169356.
Model2 chi^2= 229109.45*** df= 24; log likelihood= -428187.19; Pseudo R^2=0.28 N= 1169356.
*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.
Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

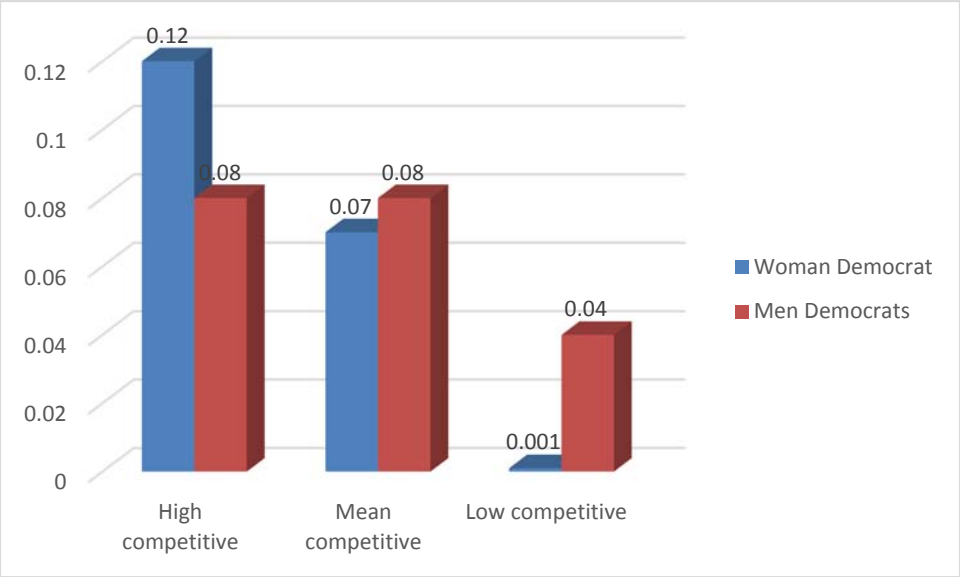

Figure 6.17: Comparison of predicted probability of using fear appeals between women Democrats and male Democrats in competitive elections.

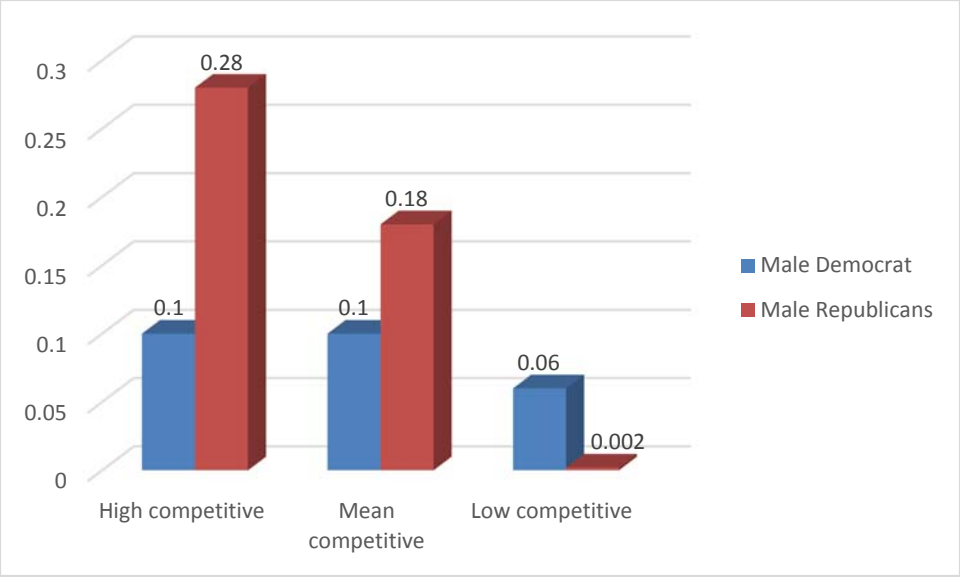

Figure 6.18: Comparison of predicted probability of using fear appeals between men Democrats and Republicans in competitive elections.

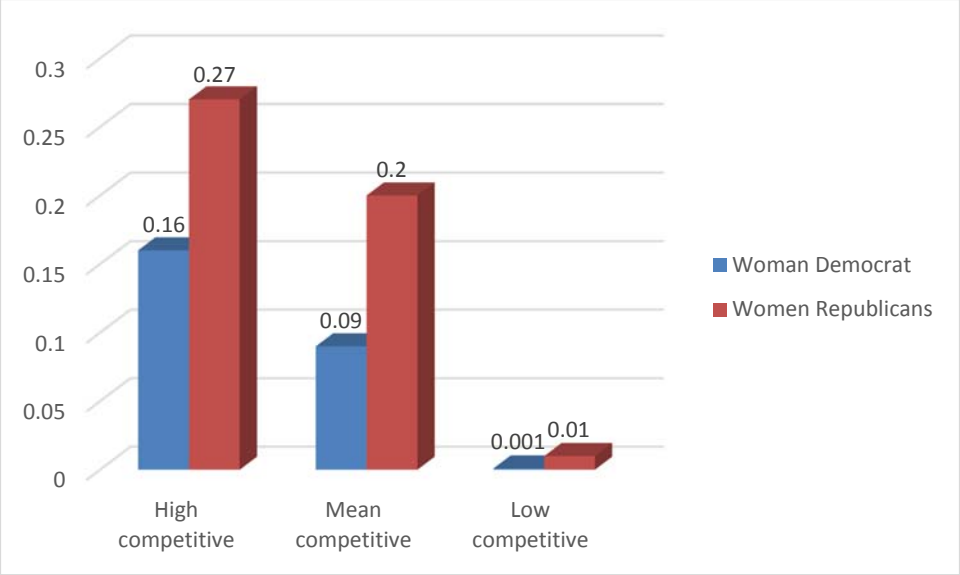

Figure 6.19: Comparison of predicted probability of using fear appeals between women Democrats and women Republicans in competitive elections.

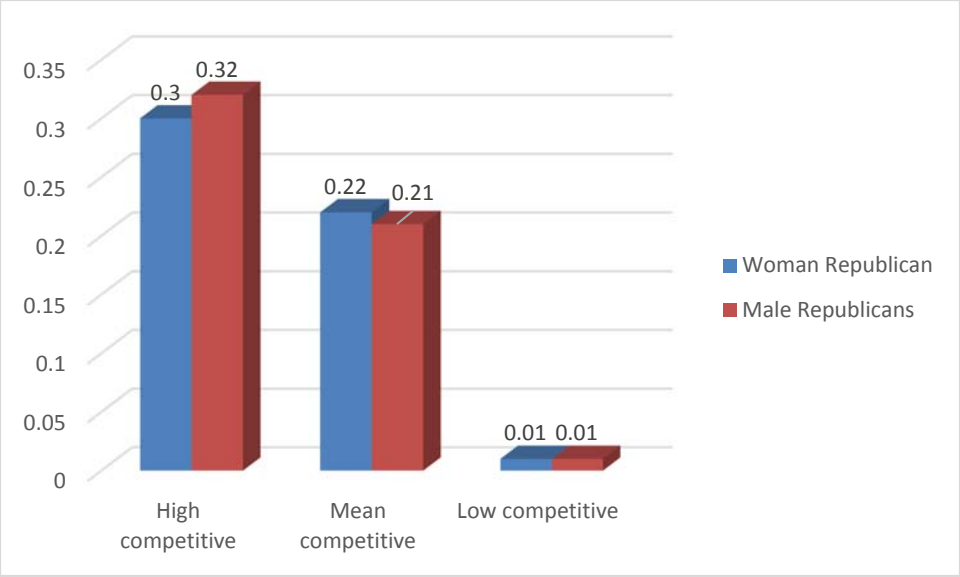

Figure 6.20: Comparison of predicted probability of using fear appeals between women Republicans and men Republicans in competitive elections.

Results for Ad Variables

H9a: Ads with feminine characteristics are less likely to have negative emotions than ads with masculine characteristics.

As mentioned in Chapter 5, ads were coded depending on whether they used various visual and textual elements of the ad (example, the candidate dressed in professional clothes, the candidate appearing with his/her family). Hypothesis 9a is supported. Feminine ads are less likely to use anger (B= -1.28, rse=0.01, p<.001) and fear appeals (B= -0.46, rse=0.01, p<.001). Figure 6.21 shows the relation graphically. The difference in predicted probabilities of using anger appeals in masculine and feminine ads is 0.28. Figure 6.22 shows that the difference in predicted probabilities of using fear appeals in masculine and feminine ads is 0.06. Though this finding is in line with the gender stereotypes literature, it is interesting to note that feminine ads shy away from using anger appeals, which induce voters to rethink their voting decisions.

Table 6.7: Factors predicting the use of fear and anger appeals in feminine ads

	Anger appeals		Fear appeals	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Ad characteristics				
Feminine ad	-1.28***	-0.27	-.46***	-.06
	(.01)		(.01)	
Candidate sponsor	-.72***	-0.16	-1.84***	-.26
	(.01)		(.01)	
Party sponsor	1.24***	0.26	.76***	.10
	(.01)		(.01)	
Hybrid sponsor	-.59***	-0.14	-1.60***	-.10
	(.02)		(.03)	
Candidate characteristics				
Female candidate				
Democrat man	-.21***	-0.05	-.80***	-.08
	(.01)		(.01)	
Republican female	.26***	0.06	-.04*	-.01
	(.01)		(.01)	
Democrat woman	.40***	0.09	-.79***	-.07
	(.01)		(.01)	
Female opponent	.14***	0.03	.12***	.01
	(.01)		(.01)	
Incumbent candidate	-.51***	-0.12	.28***	.03
	(.01)		(.01)	
Open seat	-.09***	-0.02	-.10***	-.01
	(.01)		(.01)	
Winner	-.53***	-0.12	.20***	.02
	(.01)		(.01)	
Election characteristics				
General election	.76***	0.19	.68***	.06
	(.01)		(.02)	
Margin	-.02***	-0.47	-.03***	-.15
	(.001)		(.001)	
House	-.41***	-0.10	-.11***	-.01
	(.01)		(.01)	
Senate	-.38***	-0.09	.01	.001
	(.01)		(.01)	
Demographics				
Democrat state	.001	0.01	-.06***	-.26
	(.001)		(.001)	

Table 6.7 continued

	Anger appeals		Fear appeals	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Percent white	.01	0.07***	-.04***	-.38
	(.001)		(.001)	
Voter age	-.01	-0.03***	.14***	.17
	(.002)		(.003)	
Percent urban	.02	0.20***	-.01***	-.09
	(.001)		(.001)	
Percent college graduates	-.001	-0.01	.02***	.05
	(.001)		(.002)	
Percent below poverty line	.06	0.18***	-.001	-.001
	(.002)		(.002)	
Percent women in state legislature	.01	0.04	.05***	.17
	(.001)		(.001)	
Constant	.06		-.75***	
	(.09)		(.13)	

Model 1(Anger) chi^2= 216325.36 ***df= 22; log likelihood= -635884.77; Pseudo R^2=0.21, N= 1169116. Model 2 (Fear) chi^2= 226769.93***df= 22; log likelihood= -427502.38; Pseudo R^2=0.29, N= 1169116. *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.
Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

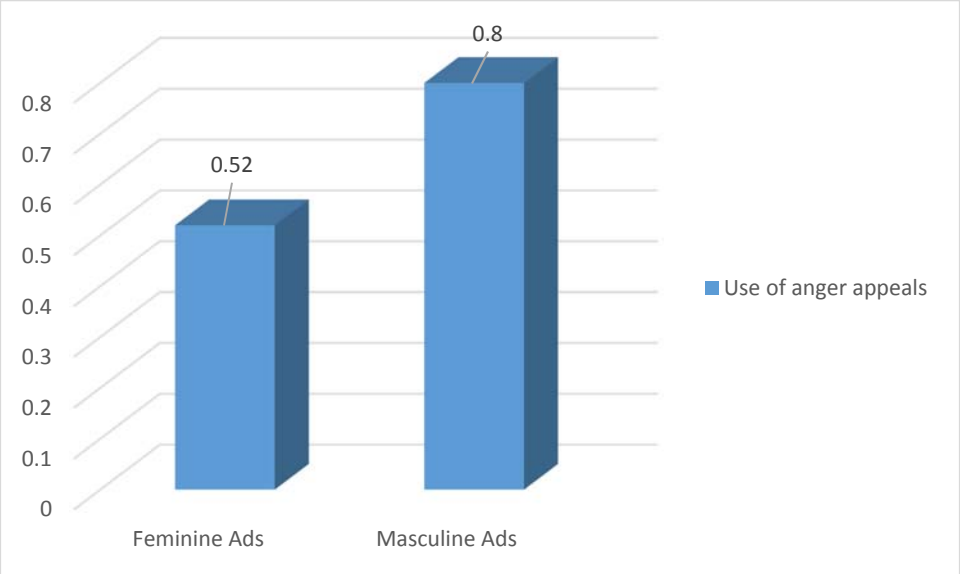

Figure 6.21: Comparison of predicted probability of using anger appeals in feminine and masculine ads.

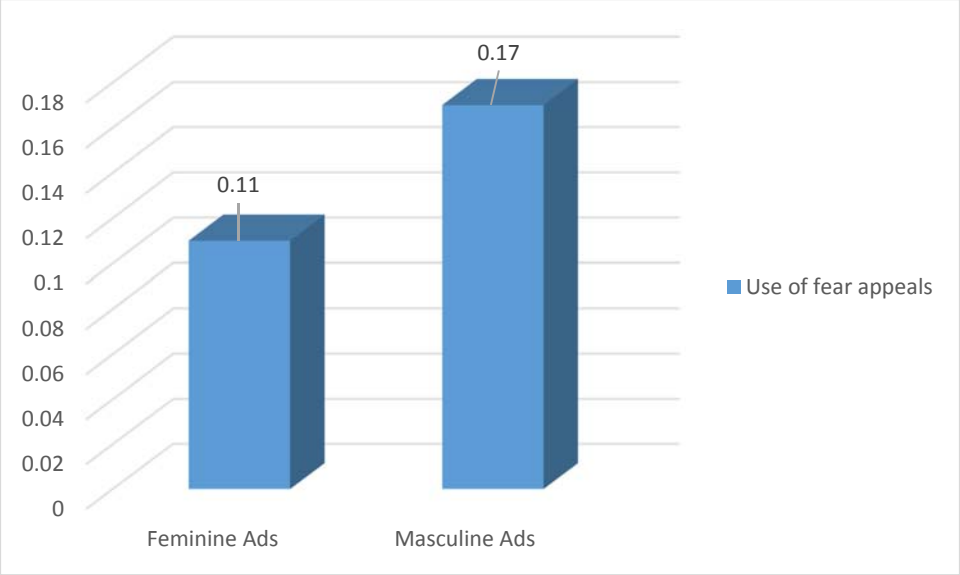

Figure 6.22: Comparison of fear appeals in feminine and masculine ads.

H9b: Ads with feminine characteristics are more likely to have positive emotions than ads with masculine characteristics.

Hypothesis 9b predicted that feminine ads are more likely to use positive emotions than male ads. As Table 6.8 below demonstrates, this hypothesis was supported as feminine ads are more likely to use enthusiasm (B=1.38, rse=0.01, p<.001) and hope appeals (B=1.07, rse=0.01, p<.001). Further, a graphical representation of the predicted probabilities in Figure 6.23 shows that the difference in predicted probabilities of using enthusiasm ads in feminine ads compared to masculine ads is 0.23, while this difference is 0.21 for ads containing hope appeals.

Table 6.8: Factors predicting the use of enthusiasm and hope appeals in masculine ads

	Enthusiasm appeals		Hope appeals	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Ad characteristics				
Feminine ad	1.38*** (.01)	.22	1.07*** (.01)	.21
Candidate sponsor	.55*** (.01)	.10	1.86*** (.01)	.34
Party sponsor	-1.87*** (.01)	-.26	.10*** (.01)	.02
Hybrid sponsor	.26*** (.02)	.05	1.31*** (.02)	.32
Candidate characteristics				
Democrat male	.38*** (.01)	.07	.40*** (.01)	.09
Republican woman	.16*** (.01)	.03	-.66*** (.01)	-.13
Democrat woman	.07*** (.01)	.01	.17*** (.01)	.04
Female opponent	-.40*** (.01)	-.07	-.03*** (.01)	-.01
Incumbent candidate	.67*** (.01)	.13	-.32*** (.01)	-.07
Open seat	-.03*** (.01)	-.01	.52*** (.01)	.12
Winner	.62*** (.01)	.12	-.06*** (.01)	-.01
Election characteristics				
General election	-.88*** (.01)		-.36*** (.01)	-.08
Margin	.02*** (.001)	.41	.01*** (.001)	.33
House	-.06*** (.01)	-.01	-.17*** (.01)	-.04
Senate	.65*** (.01)	.13	-.26*** (.01)	-.06
Demographics				
Democrat state	-.01*** (.001)	-.06	.02*** (.001)	.19

Table 6.8 continued

	Enthusiasm appeals		Hope appeals	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Percent white	-.001*** (.001)	-.02	.01*** (.001)	.12
Voter age	-.01*** (.002)	-.03	-.04*** (.002)	-.11
Percent urban	-.001*** (.001)	-.01	-.01*** (.001)	-.09
Percent college graduates	-.06*** (.001)	-.22	-.02*** (.001)	-.06
Percent below poverty line	-.08*** (.002)	-.19	-.06*** (.002)	-.17
Percent women in state legislature	.01*** (.001)	.08	-.01*** (.001)	-.09
Constant	.94*** (.09)		-.82*** .09	

Model 1(Enthusiasm) chi^2=203387.02*** df= 22; log likelihood= -591024.96; Pseudo R^2=0.21, N= 1169116. Model 2(Hope) chi^2= 243087.60*** df= 22; log likelihood= -607698.87; Pseudo R^2= 0.20 N= 1143160. *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.
Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

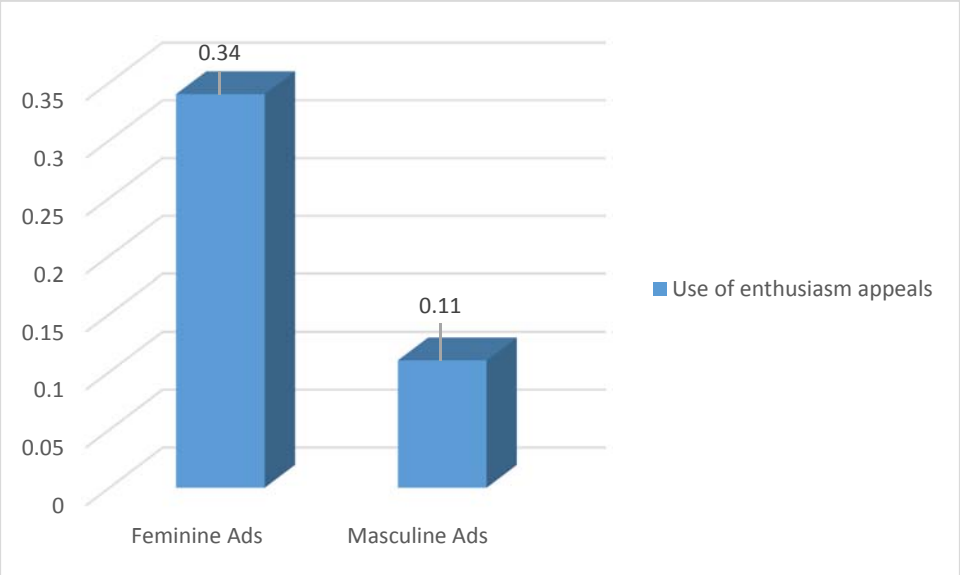

Figure 6.23: Comparison of enthusiasm appeals in feminine and masculine ads.

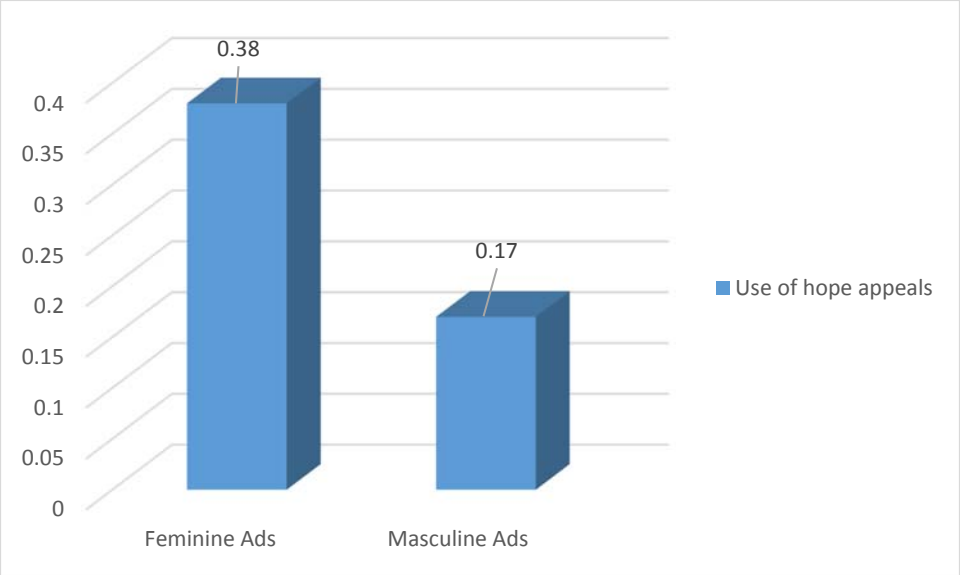

Figure 6.24: Comparison of hope appeals in feminine and masculine ads.

H10a: Women candidates are more likely to use negative emotions in masculine ads than male candidates.

H10b: Male candidates are less likely to use negative emotions in feminine ads than masculine ads.

Drawing from the women in politics literature, hypothesis 10a predicts that women will be more likely to use anger and fear in masculine ads than all male candidates. As mentioned in the earlier chapters, the rationale behind this is that women often adopt masculine tactics to appear competitive. The tactic of using masculine ads implies that the woman candidate is trying to appear more viable than her contender, therefore it would follow that she would be more likely to use negative emotions to complement her masculine ad strategy. As Table 6.8 demonstrates, this hypothesis is fully supported. I find that women candidates are more likely to use fear appeals (B=0.03, rse=0.01, p<.001) as well as anger appeals (B= -1.63, rse=0.02, p<.001) in masculine ads. Figures 6.25 and 6.26 display the predicted probabilities graphically.

There is a 0.08 difference in the predicted probability of women using fear appeals in masculine ads and a 0.06 difference of in the predicted probability of women using anger appeals in masculine ads.

Another interesting observation from Table 6.8 is the likelihood of men using negative appeals in feminine ads compared with masculine ads. The results indicate that male (B= -1.06, rse=.01, p<0.001) candidates are less likely to use anger (B= -1.06, rse=.01, p<.001) and fear (B= -.64, rse=.01, p<.001) in feminine ads than when they campaign on masculine ads. Figure 6.27 shows that the difference in predicted probability of using anger appeals by men candidates in feminine ads vs men in masculine ads is 0.06. Figure 6.28 shows that the difference for fear appeals is 0.22. This finding is not surprising and is in line with the resonance theory of campaigns, which states that it is beneficial for candidates to project those qualities in their ads that are congruent with voters' perceptions.

Table 6.9: Factors predicting the use of fear and anger in masculine ads

	Anger		Fear	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Candidate characteristics				
Female candidate	1.63*** (.02)	.33	.03 (.01)	.01
Women X Masculine ad	-.32*** (.01)	-.08	-.86*** (.01)	-.06
Men X Feminine ad	-1.06*** (.01)	-.24	-.64*** (.01)	-.06
Women X Feminine ad	-2.01*** (.02)	-.46	.37*** (.01)	.04
Democrat	.14*** (.01)	.03	.59*** (.01)	.05
Female opponent	.05*** (.01)	.01	.29*** (.01)	0.03
Incumbent candidate	-.56*** (.01)	-.14	.46*** (.01)	.04

Table 6.9 continued

	Anger		Fear	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Open seat	-.11***	-.03	-.08***	-.01
	(.01)		(.01)	
Winner	-.50***	-.12	.11*** (.01)	.01
	(.01)			
Ad characteristics				
Candidate sponsor	-.69***	-.16	-1.40***	-.17
	(.01)		(.01)	
Party sponsor	1.68***	.33	1.22***	.15
	(.01)		(.01)	
Hybrid sponsor	-.63***	-.16	-1.36***	-.07
	(.02)		(.03)	
Election characteristics				
General election	.78***	.19	.61*** (.02)	.05
	(.01)			
Margin	-.02***	-.47	-.03***	-.12
	(.001)		(.001)	
House	-.47***	-.11	-.25***	-.02
	(.01)		(.01)	
Senate	-.32***	-.08	-.17***	-.02
	(.01)		(.01)	
Demographics				
Democrat state	.002**	.01	-.07***	-.25
	(.001)		(.001)	
Percent white	.01***	.08	-.05***	-.47
	(.001)		(.001)	
Voter age	.01***	.03	.15***	.14
	(.002)		(.003)	
Percent urban	.02***	.27	-.01***	-.07
	(.001)		(.001)	
Percent college graduates	-.01***	-.06	.02***	.04
	(.001)		(.002)	
Percent below poverty line	.06***	.20	-.03***	-.03
	(.002)		(.002)	
Percent women in state legislature	.01***	.08	.04***	.11
	(.001)		(.001)	
Constant	-1.60***		-.98***	
	(.09)		(.14)	

Model 1(Anger) chi^2= 192954.69***df= 23; log likelihood=-574548.18; Pseudo R^2=0.20, N= 1046982. Model 2(Fear) chi^2= 184389.82*** df= 21; log likelihood= -342786.57; Pseudo R^2= 0.27, N= 1046982. *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

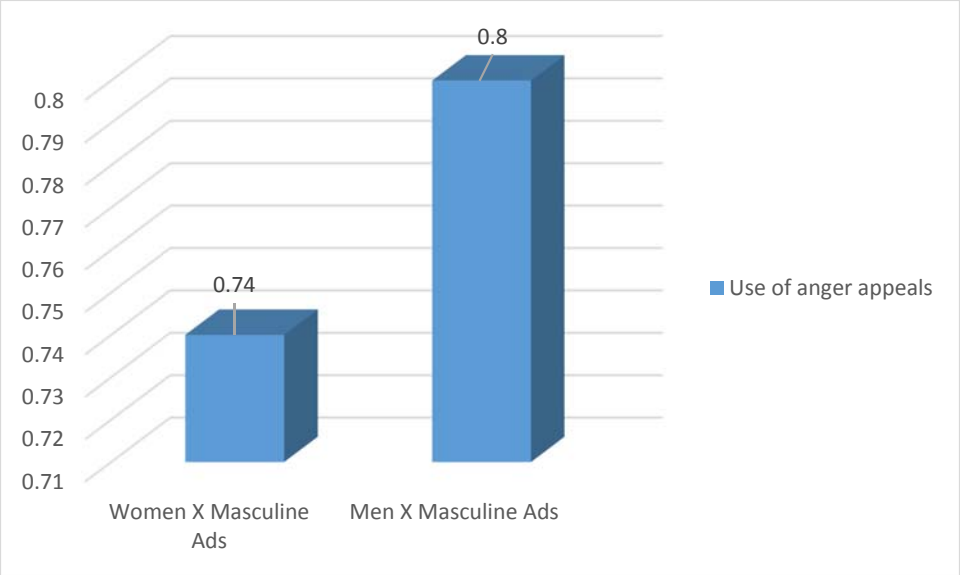

Figure 6.25. Comparison of anger appeals in masculine ads by male and female candidates.

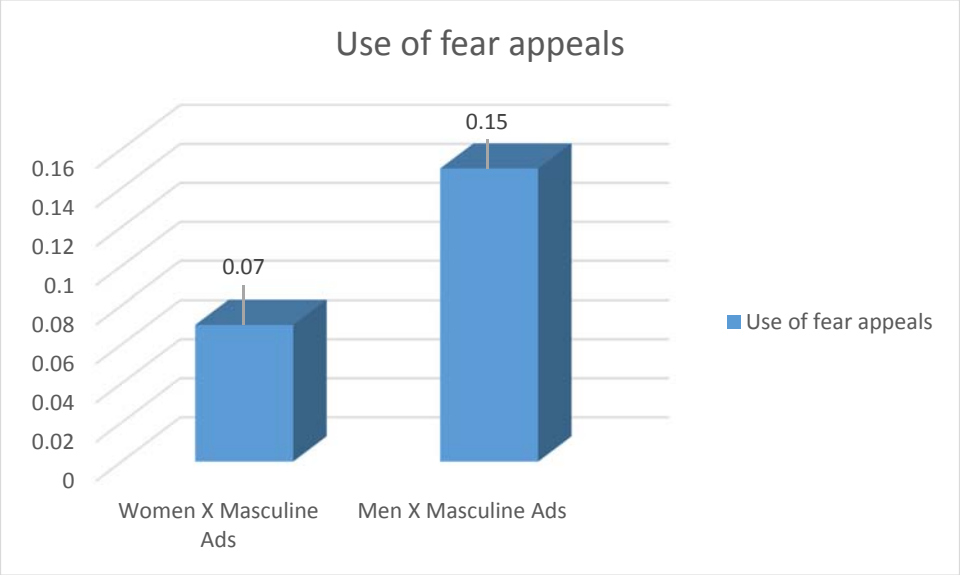

Figure 6.26. Comparison of fear appeals in masculine ads by male and female candidates.

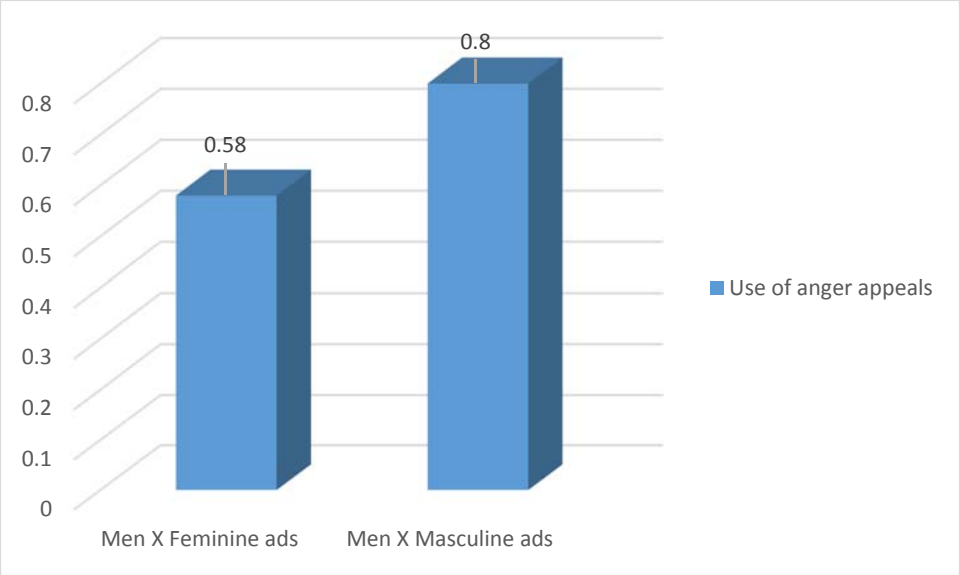

Figure 6.27. Comparison of anger appeals in masculine and feminine ads by male candidates.

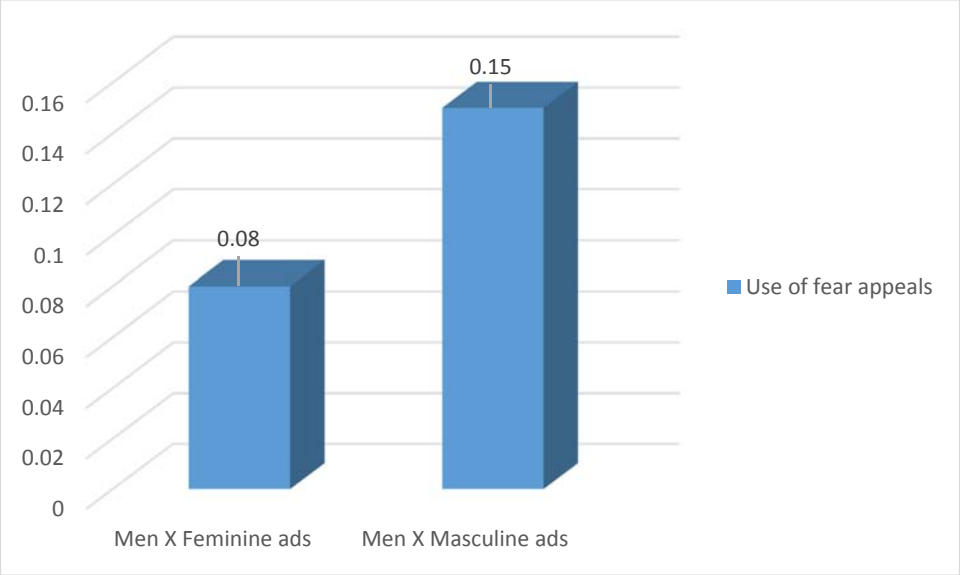

Figure 6.28. Comparison of fear appeals in masculine and feminine ads by male candidates.

H11a: Democrat women candidates are more likely to use fear appeals in masculine ads than Republican women candidates.

H11b: Democrat males are less likely to use fear appeals in feminine ads than Republican males.

Hypothesis 11a is based on theories from the women in politics literature that states that the Democratic Party is considered female on account of its huge female support base and its core issue agenda including topics such as education and welfare, which are considered women's issues. The Republican Party, on the other hand, is considered male because it is associated with male issues such as foreign policy and defense. Incidentally, on the whole, voters perceive women candidates as more liberal than they actually are, and more liberal than their male counterparts. This view about women candidates is true regardless of their party affiliation. (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993). This view of women candidates extends to Republican women candidates who are seen as more liberal than Republican men. As Dolan (2006) mentions, this is one way in which "sex stereotypes can interact with, and perhaps moderate, partisan stereotypes" (2006:12). The hypotheses above aim to examine whether and how Republican and Democrat women's campaign strategies are affected by stereotypes related to both their gender and their party affiliations.

Democrat women would be more likely to use negative emotions in masculine ads in order to stress their competitiveness and to distance themselves from the female-centric image of their party. However, this hypothesis is unsupported. As Table 6.9 below shows, Democrat women are less likely to use fear (B= -.95, rse=.02, p<.001) or anger (B= -1.02, rse=.02, p<.001) appeals in masculine ads. Figures 6.29 and 6.30 show the difference in the predicted probabilities of using anger and fear appeals between Democrat women and Republican women. For anger appeals the difference is 0.09. Republican women have a higher predicted probability of using

anger appeals than Democrat women. For fear appeals there is no difference between the two groups. Republican and Democrat women have equal predicted probabilities of using fear appeals in their campaign ads. The second hypothesis addressing the differences between Republican and Democrat men is supported. Democrat men are less likely to use fear (B= -.16, rse= .01, p<.001) and anger appeals (B= -.03, rse=.01, p<.001) in feminine ads as compared to Republican men.

Table 6.10: Factors predicting the use of fear in partisan masculine and feminine ads

	Model 1		Model 2	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Candidate and ad characteristics				
Democrat women X masculine ad	-.95***	-.06	-1.02***	-.06
	.02		(.02)	
Republican men X masculine ad	-1.02***	-.07	-1.22***	-.09
	.01		(.01)	
Republican women X masculine ad			-1.11***	-.06
			(.03)	
Democrat men X masculine ad	-.57***	-.05	-.62***	-.05
	.01		(.01)	
Democrat women X feminine ad	.54***	.06	.67***	.07
	.02		(.02)	
Democrat men X feminine ad	-.16***	-.01	-.03**	-.003
	.01		(.01)	
Republican men X feminine ad	-.81***	-.06		
	.01			
Republican women X feminine ad	-1.33***	-.07	-.29***	-.02
	.02		(.03)	
Democrat	1.26***	.12	1.04***	.10
	.01		(.01)	
Incumbent candidate	.34***	.03	.34***	.03
	.01		(.01)	
Female opponent	.29***	.03	.32***	.03
	.01		(.01)	
Open seat	-.19***	-.02	-.17***	-.01
	.01		(.01)	
Winner	.14***	.01	.12***	.01
	(.01)		(.01)	

Table 6.10 continued

	Model 1		Model 2	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Candidate sponsor	-1.33***	-.15	-1.62***	-.20
	(.01)		(.01)	
Party sponsor	1.34***	.17	1.26***	.15
	(.01)		(.01)	
Hybrid sponsor	-1.23***	-.07	-1.46***	-.07
	(.03)		(.04)	
Election characteristics				
General election	.60***	.04	.62***	.04
	(.02)		(.02)	
Margin	-.02***	-.11	-.03***	-.11
	(.001)		(.001)	
House	-.39***	-.03	-.37***	-0.03
	(.01)		(.01)	
Senate	-.19***	-.02	-.08***	-0.01
	(.01		(.01)	
Demographics				
Democrat state	-.06***	-.22	-.07***	-0.22
	(.001)		(.001)	
Percent white	-.04***	-.39	-.04***	-0.39
	(.001)		(.001)	
Voter age	.13***	.12	.15***	0.14
	(.003)		(.003)	
Percent urban	-.01***	-.06	-.02***	-0.08
	(.001)		(.001)	
Percent college graduates	.02***	.04	.03***	0.05
	(.002)		(.002)	
Percent below poverty line	-.01***	-.01	-.002	-0.002
	(.002)		(.002)	
Percent women in state legislature	.04***	.10	.04***	0.12
	(.001)		(.001)	
Constant	-1.72***		-2.28***	
	(.14)		(.14)	

Model1: chi^2=192244.33*** df= 26; log likelihood=-335191.97; Pseudo R^2=-0.28 N= 1046982.
Model 2: chi^2= 200510.99*** df= 26; log likelihood= -336676.57; Pseudo R^2=-0.28 N= 1046982. *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.
Robust standard errors are in parentheses.
This model shows the results of one-tailed hypotheses.

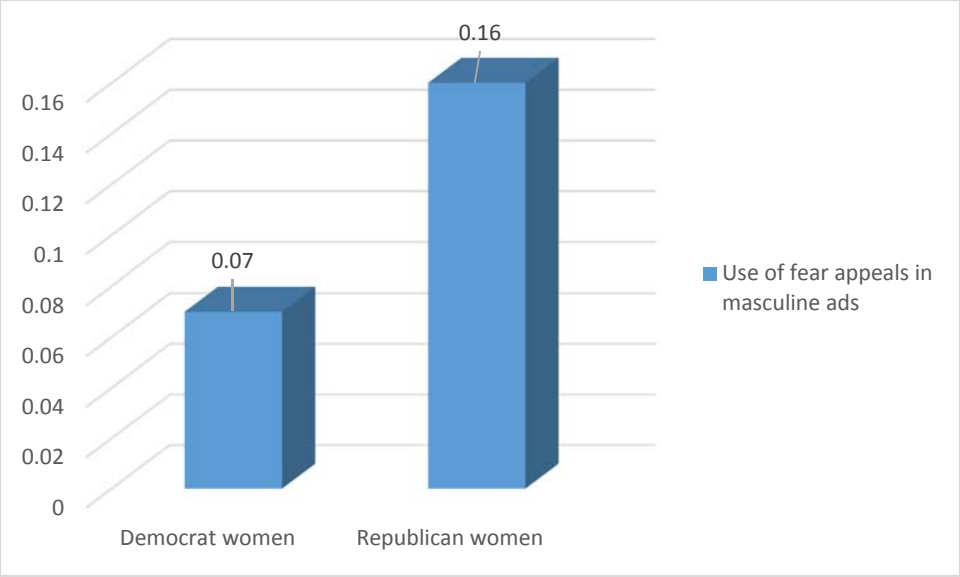

Figure 6.29: Comparison of fear appeals by Democrat and Republican women in ads with masculine characteristics.

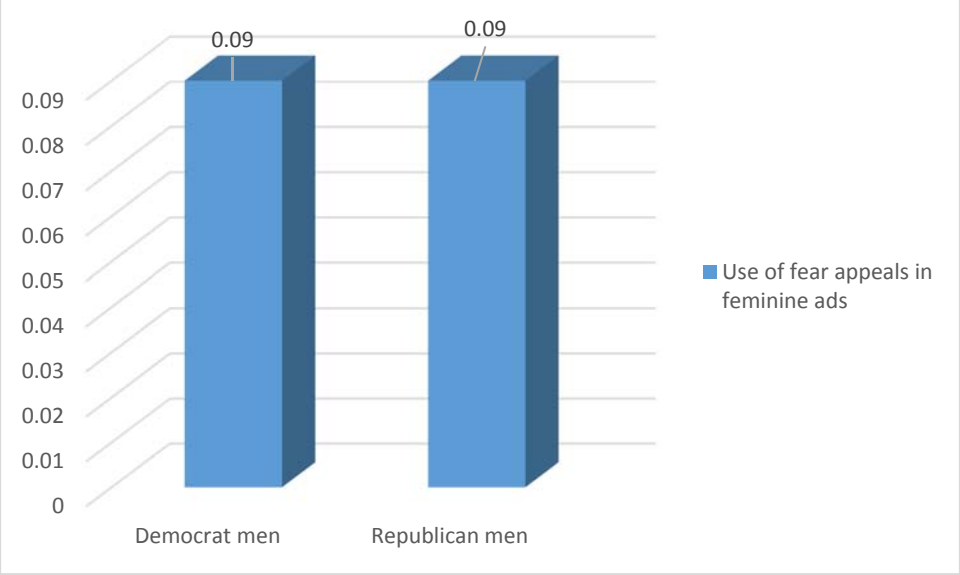

Figure 6.30: Comparison of the predicted probability of using fear appeals by male Democrats and male Republicans in ads with feminine characteristics.

Table 6.11: Hypotheses and results summary (ad airings as unit of analysis)

Hypotheses		Results
H1: Women candidates are more likely to use positive emotions than male candidates.	unsupported	Women are less likely to Enthusiasm appeals and hope appeals.
H2: Women candidates are less likely to use negative emotions than male candidates.	unsupported	Women are more likely to use anger and fear appeals.
H3a: Democrat women are likely to differ from Republican women in the use of positive emotions.	supported	Democrat women are more likely to use hope and enthusiasm.
H3b: Democrat women are likely to differ from Republican women in the use of negative emotions.	partial support	Democrat women are less likely to use fear. Democrat women are less likely to use anger, but the difference is not significant.
H4a: Democrat and Republican men are likely to differ in the use of positive emotional appeals.	partial support	Democrat men are less likely to use enthusiasm and more likely to use hope.
H4b: Democrat and Republican men are likely to differ in the use of negative emotional appeals.	partial support	Democrat men are less likely to use fear, more likely to use anger.
H5: Women running against male candidates are more likely to use fear appeals than women running against female candidates.	unsupported	Women are less likely to use fear against male opponents.
H6: Women running against men candidates are less likely to use anger appeals than women running against female candidates.	unsupported	Women are less likely to use anger against male opponents.
H7a: Women candidates in Senate races are likely to differ in their use of fear appeals from men running in Senate races.	supported	Women are more likely to use fear when running for Senate races.
H7b: Women candidates in House races are likely to differ in their use of fear appeals from men running in House races.	supported	Women are less likely to use fear appeals when running for House races.

Table 6.11 continued

Hypotheses		Results
H7c: Women candidates in Governor races are likely to differ in their use of fear appeals from men running in Governor races.	Supported	Women are more likely to use fear appeals when running for Governor races.
H8a: Women Democrats running for competitive elections are more likely to use fear appeals than male Democrats.	Supported	
H8b: Male Democrats running for competitive elections use fear appeals differently from male Republicans.	Supported	Male Republicans are more likely to use fear appeals in competitive elections.
H8c: Women Democrats running for competitive elections are more likely to use fear appeals than women Republicans.	Supported	
H8d: Women Republicans running for competitive elections are more likely to use fear appeals than male Republicans.	Supported	
H9a: Ads with feminine characteristics are less likely to have negative emotions than ads with masculine characteristics.	Supported	Feminine ads are less likely to use fear and anger.
H9b: Ads with feminine characteristics are more likely to have positive emotions than ads with masculine characteristics.	Supported	Feminine ads are more likely to use enthusiasm and hope.
H10a: Women candidates are more likely to use negative emotions in masculine ads than male candidates.	Supported	Women are more likely to use fear and anger appeals than men using masculine ads.
H10b: Male candidates are less likely to use negative emotions in feminine ads than masculine ads.	Supported	Men are less likely to use fear and anger appeals in feminine ads than masculine ads.

Table 6.11 continued

Hypotheses	Results
H11a: Democrat women candidates are more likely to use fear appeals in masculine ads than Republican women candidates.	unsupported
H11b: Democrat males are less likely to use fear appeals in feminine ads than Republican males.	supported
H12a: Women are less likely to use fear appeals in ads containing female issues than male candidates.	unsupported
H12b: Women are more likely to use fear appeals in ads containing male issues than male candidates.	supported

CHAPTER 7. RESULTS USING UNIQUE ADS AS UNIT OF ANALYSIS

In this chapter I estimate a series of binary logistic regression models with unique ads as the unit of analysis in order to test the hypotheses discussed in the previous chapters. The results of data analysis are summarized in Table 7.10.

Results for Candidate Variables

H1: Women candidates are more likely to use positive emotions than male candidates.

H2: Women candidates are less likely to use negative emotions than male candidates.

The first hypothesis, that women will be more likely to use positive emotions than men candidates is unsupported. The analysis, as seen in Table 7.1 below, indicates that women are less likely than men to use enthusiasm (B= -.17, rse= .10, p>.05) and hope (B= -.04, rse= .10, p>.05) appeals, though the difference is not significant. Figure 7.1 shows that the difference in predicted probability for using hope appeals is 0.01 more for men than women. Figure 7.2 shows that the difference in predicted probabilities of using enthusiasm appeals between men and women is 0.03.

The second hypothesis is also unsupported as women are more likely to use fear (B=, rse=, p>.05) and anger (B=, rse=, p<.05) appeals. While the gender difference for fear appeals is not significant, this difference is significant at p<.05 for anger appeals. Figure 7.3 shows that the predicted probability for women candidates using anger appeals is 0.55 and for men it is 0.47. Figure 7.4 shows that the predicted probability for women candidates using fear appeals is 0.12 and 0.09 for male candidates. These findings are in line with previous literature that shows women being more likely to use anger appeals in their ads.

Table 7.1: Men and women candidates' use of negative and positive emotions

	Fear	Anger	Enthusiasm	Hope
Candidate characteristics				
Women candidates	.26	.29*	-.17	-.04
	(.15)	(.10)	(.10)	(.10)
Democrat	-.72***	-.14	.10	.46***
	(.12)	(.08)	(.08)	(.08)
Female opponent	.01	.29*	-.54***	.11
	(.16)	(.11)	(.11)	(.11)
Incumbent	.11	-.67***	.86***	-.32**
	(.13)	(.10)	(.10)	(.10)
Open seat	.15	-.43***	.13	.47***
	(.16)	(.11)	(.11)	(.11)
Winner	.02	-.52***	.66***	-.03
	(.13)	(.09)	(.09)	(.09)
Election characteristics				
General election	.86**	.86***	-.73***	-.49***
	(.27)	(.13)	(.12)	(.13)
Margin	-.02*	-.02***	.01***	.01*
	(.01)	(.003)	(.003)	(.003)
House	.26	-.57***	-.22	.002
	(.35)	(.16)	(.16)	(.16)
Senate	.79*	-.48*	.21	-.27
	(.35)	(.17)	(.18)	(.17)
Ad characteristics				
Candidate sponsor	-.82*	-.58*	.45	.73*
	(.32)	(.24)	(.27)	(.24)
Party sponsor	1.65***	2.18***	-2.73***	-1.63***
	(.34)	(.31)	(.39)	(.30)
Hybrid sponsor	.90**	.67*	-.57	-1.84***
	(.34)	(.28)	(.30)	(.34)
Demographics				
Democrat state	-.03*	-.01	-.04***	.02**
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Percent white	-.01	-.01*	.004	.01
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Voter age	-.001	.06*	.02	-.04
	(.05)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
Percent urban	-.001	.01	.01*	-.01*
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)

Table 7.1 continued

	Fear	Anger	Enthusiasm	Hope
Percent college graduates	.02 (.02)	-.04** (.01)	.01 (.01)	.03* (.02)
Percent below poverty line	-.001 (.02)	-.03 (.02)	.01 (.02)	.03* (.02)
Percent women in state legislature	.02 (.01)	.02** (.01)	.003 (.01)	-.03*** (.01)
Constant	-.72 (1.02)	.23 (.67)	-1.19 (.74)	-.44 (.72)

Model1 (Fear) chi^2= 227391.38*** df= 20; log likelihood=-430227.77; Pseudo R^2=0.28, N= 1169356.
Model 2(Anger) chi^2= 459.20*** df=20; log likelihood= -1997.3324; Pseudo R^2=0.15; N= 3401.
Model 2(Enthusiasm) chi^2= 401.58 *** df= 20; log likelihood= -1943.6927; Pseudo R^2=0.15; N= 3400. Model 2(Hope) chi^2= 458.89 *** df= 20; log likelihood= -1968.1031; Pseudo R^2=0.16; N= 3401. *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.
Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

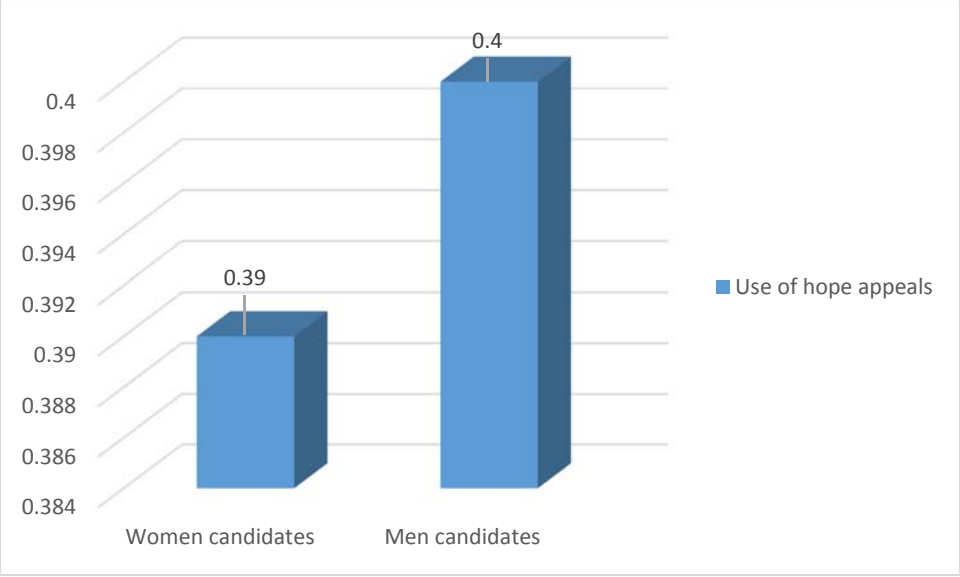

Figure 7.1: Comparison of predicted probability of men and women candidates using hope appeals.

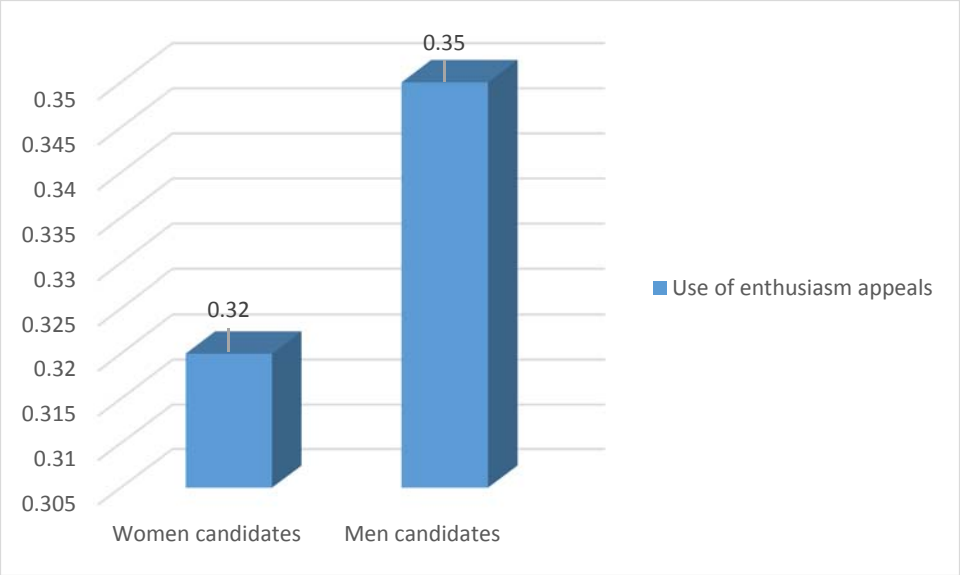

Figure 7.2: Comparison of predicted probability of men and women candidates using enthusiasm appeals.

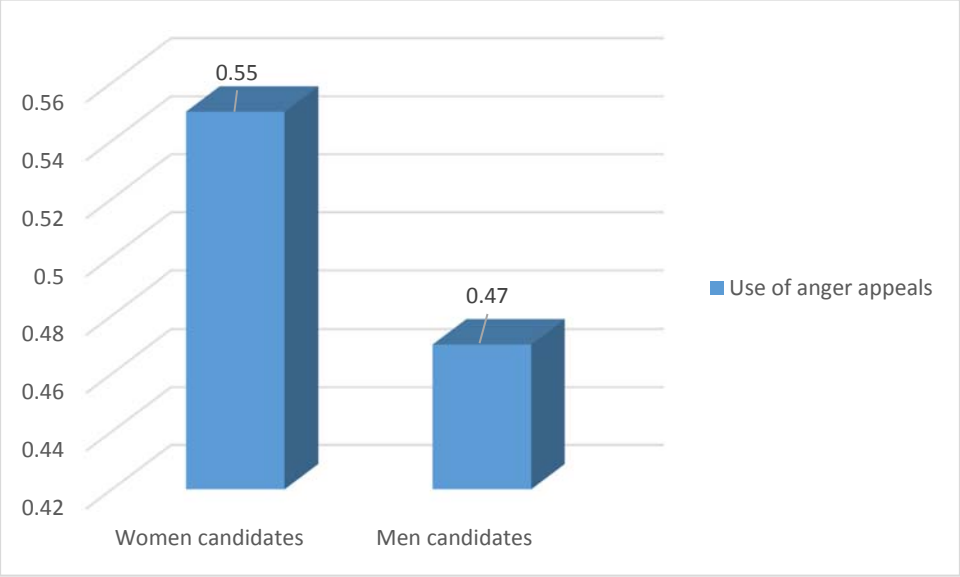

Figure 7.3: Comparison of predicted probability of men and women candidates using enthusiasm appeals.

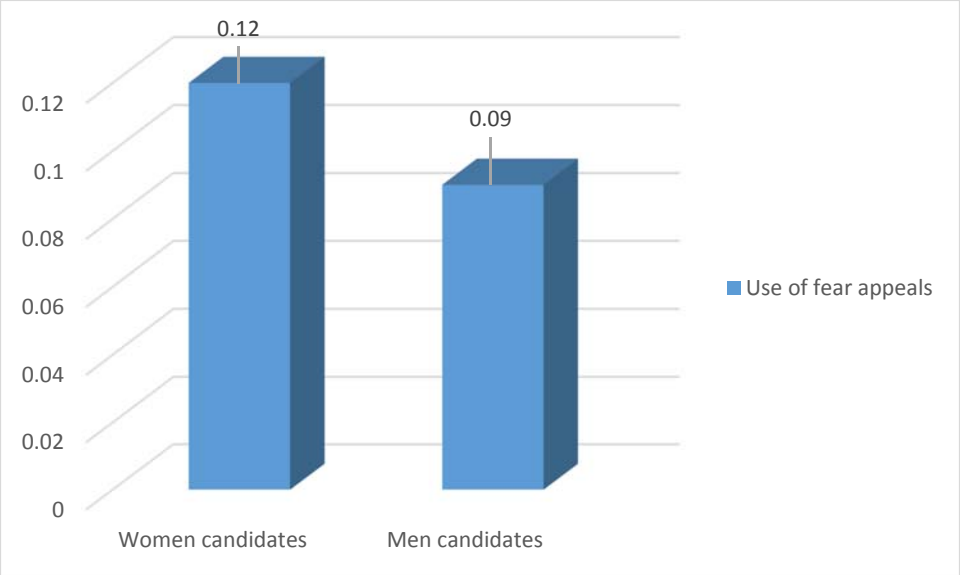

Figure 7.4: Comparison of predicted probability of men and women candidates using fear appeals.

H3a: Democrat women are likely to differ from Republican women in the use of positive emotions.

H3b: Democrat women are likely to differ from Republican women in the use of negative emotions.

Hypotheses 3a and 3b address within-gender partisan differences in the likelihood of using positive and negative emotions. As Table 7.2 shows, H3a is partially supported. Women Democrats are more likely than Republican women to use hope appeals (B=0.52, rse=0.19, $p<.01$). Though Democrat women are less likely than Republican women to use enthusiasm appeals (B= 0.42, rse=0.19, $p>.05$) this relationship is not significant at the $p<.05$ level. Figure 7.5 shows the predicted probability of using hope appeals. Democrat women have a 0.13 higher predicted probability of using hope appeals when compared to Republican women. Hypothesis 3b is also partially supported. Democrat women are less likely to use fear appeals than

Republican women (B= -.55, rse=.27, p<.05) and more likely to use anger appeals (B=.21, rse=.18, p>.05), though this latter relationship is not statistically significant at p<.05). Figure 7.5 shows that women Democrats have a 0.13 higher predicted probability of using hope appeals and a 0.09 lower predicted probability of using enthusiasm appeals.

Another observation from Table 7.2 is the comparison between Democrat men and Republican women's likelihood of using positive and negative emotional appeals. Democrat men are less likely to use fear and anger appeals, though this relationship is highly significant only for fear appeals. Democrat men are also significantly more likely than Republican women to use hope appeals. The comparison of Republican men and women shows that Republican men are less likely to use enthusiasm, anger and fear appeals, and more likely to use hope appeals, but none of these differences are significant.

Table 7.2: Factors predicting the use of negative and positive emotions by Republicans and Democrats

	Fear	Anger	Enthusiasm	Hope
Candidate characteristics				
Women Democrat	-.55*	.21	-.42	.52**
	(.27)	(.18)	(.19)	(.19)
Male Democrat	-.90***	-.25	.003	.53**
	(.25)	(.16)	(.17)	(.17)
Republican man	-.13	-.02	-.21	.09
	(.25)	(.16)	(.17)	(.17)
Female opponent	.01	.30**	-.56	.11
	(.16)	(.11)	(.12)	(.11)
Incumbent candidate	.11	-.67***	.88	-.32**
	(.13)	(.10)	(.10)	(.10)
Open seat	.13	-.44***	.15	.46***
	(.16)	(.11)	(.11)	(.11)
Winner	.03	-.51***	.66	-.03
	(.13)	(.09)	(.09)	(.09)

Table 7.2 continued

	Fear	Anger	Enthusiasm	Hope
Election characteristics				
General election	.85***	.85***	-.72	-.49***
	(.27)	(.13)	(.12)	(.13)
Margin	-.02**	-.01***	.01	.01*
	(.01)	(.003)	(.003)	(.003)
House	.29	-.52**	-.30	.01
	(.35)	(.17)	(.17)	(.16)
Senate	.81*	-.43*	.13	-.27
	(.35)	(.18)	(.18)	(.17)
Ad characteristics				
Candidate sponsor	-.81*	-.58*	.44	.74**
	(.32)	(.25)	(.27)	(.24)
Party sponsor	1.66***	2.20***	-2.77	-1.63***
	(.34)	(.32)	(.40)	(.30)
Hybrid sponsor	.90**	.66*	-.57	-1.84***
	(.34)	(.28)	(.30)	(.34)
Demographics				
Democrat state	-.04*	-.01	-.04	.02*
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Percent white	-.01	-.01*	.004	.01
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Voter age	.0001	.06*	.02	-.04
	(.05)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
Percent urban	-.001	.004	.01	-.01**
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Percent college graduates	.02	-.04**	.01	.03*
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.01)
Percent below poverty line	-.002	-.03*	.02	.03*
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Percent women in state legislature	.02	.02**	.003	-.03***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Constant	-.58	.24	-.93	-.53
	(1.05)	(.69)	(.75)	(.74)

Model1 (Fear) chi^2= 511.91*** df= 21; log likelihood= -1103.5273; Pseudo R^2=0.22, N= 3401.
Model 2(Anger) chi^2= 460.38*** df= 21; log likelihood= -1995.0817; Pseudo R^2=0.15, N= 3401.
Model 2(Enthusiasm) chi^2= 410.52*** df= 21; log likelihood= -1939.0406; Pseudo R^2=0.15, N= 3400.
Model 2(Hope) chi^2= 458.77*** df= 21; log likelihood= -1968.0403; Pseudo R^2=0.16, N= 3401.
*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.
Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

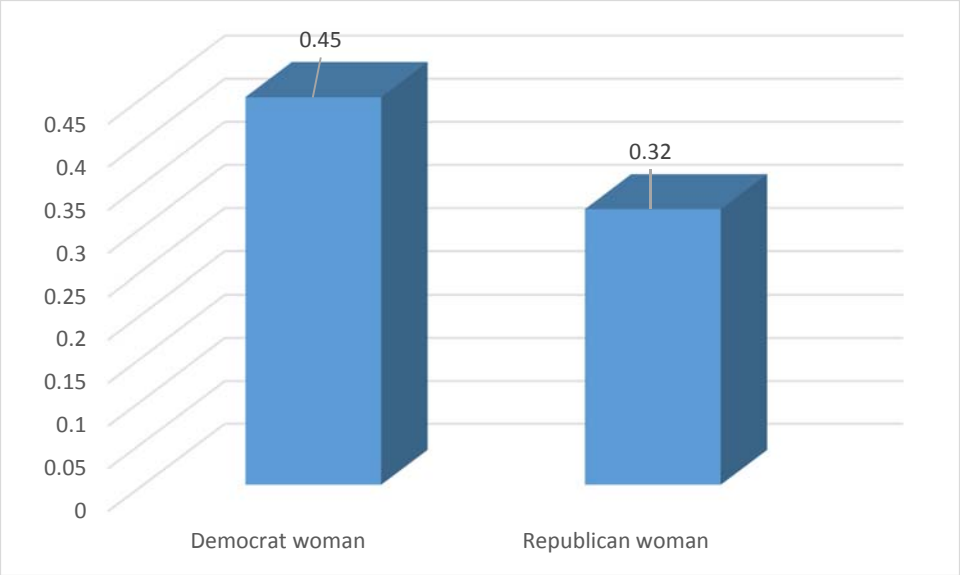

Figure 7.5: Comparison of predicted probability of Democrat and Republican women candidates using hope appeals.

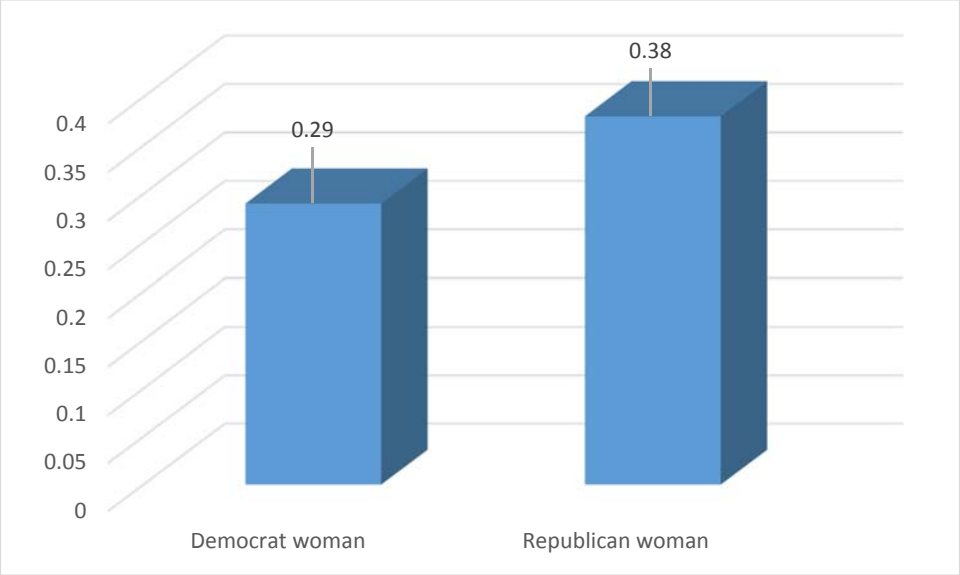

Figure 7.6: Comparison of predicted probability of Democrat and Republican women candidates using enthusiasm appeals.

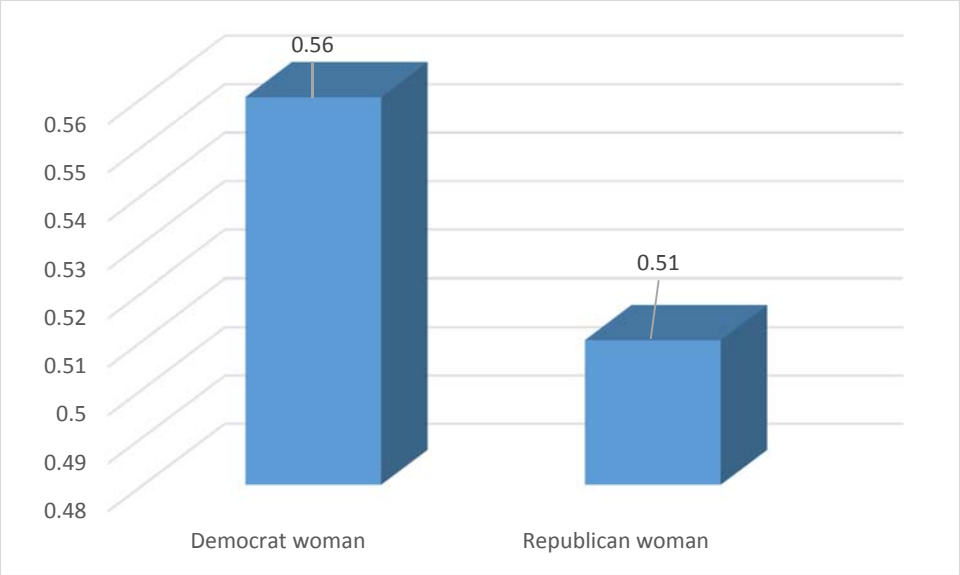

Figure 7.7: Comparison of predicted probability of Democrat and Republican women candidates using anger appeals.

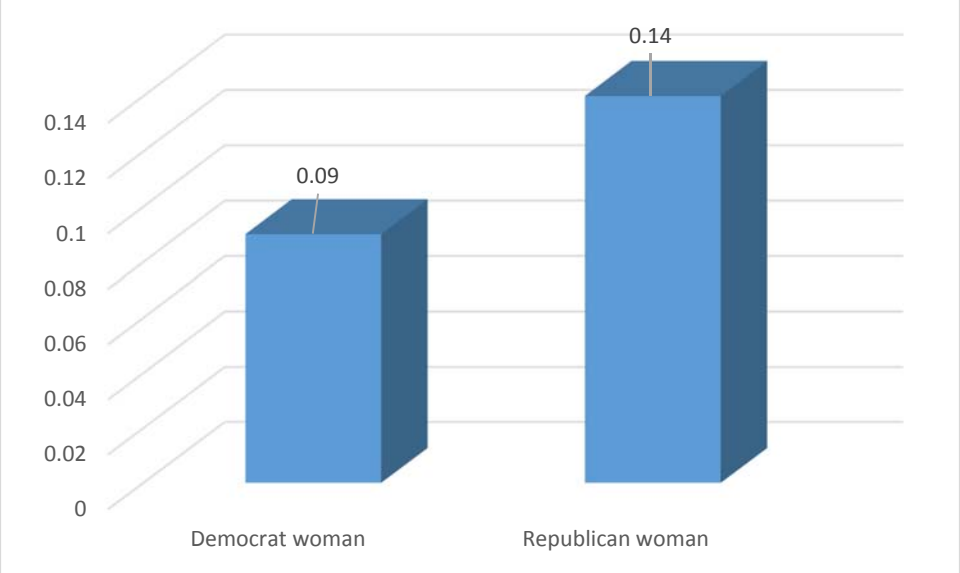

Figure 7.8: Comparison of predicted probability of Democrat and Republican women candidates using fear appeals.

H4a: Democrat and Republican men are likely to differ in the use of positive emotional appeals.

H4b: Democrat and Republican men are likely to differ in the use of negative emotional appeals.

Hypotheses 4a and 4b are non-directional and look into the partisan differences of using positive and negative emotional appeals with respect to male candidates. My expectation about within-gender differences is based on the perception that the Republican Party is considered more masculine than the Democratic Party. Democrats are associated with social welfare issues, which are considered more feminine and Republican with masculine issues such as foreign policy and taxes. The hypotheses above aim to examine how party and gender intersect to affect campaign strategies. Table 7.3 below shows that Hypothesis 4a is supported. Democrat men are more likely than their Republican counterparts to use enthusiasm (B=0.22, rse=.09, p<.05) and hope appeals (B=0.45, rse=.09, p<.001). Figure 7.5 shows that Democrat men have a 0.11 increased predicted probability of using hope appeals than Republican men. Figure 7.6 shows that there is a difference of 0.05 in the predicted probability of using enthusiasm appeals between Democrat and Republican men.

Hypothesis 4b is also supported. As Table 7.3 below shows, male Democrats are less likely than male Republicans to use fear (B= -.76, rse=0.14, p<.001) and anger (B= -.23, rse=0.09, p<.05) appeals in their campaign ads. Figure 7.7 below shows the graphical representation of the predicted probabilities. This figure shows that Democrat men have a 0.05 lower predicted probability of using anger appeals as compared to Republican men. In addition, Figure 7.8 below shows that male Democrat candidates have a 0.07 lower predicted probability of using fear appeals in their ads.

Table 7.3: Factors predicting the use of negative and positive emotions by Republicans and Democrats

	Fear	Anger	Enthusiasm	Hope
Candidate characteristics				
Women Democrat	-.42*	.23	-.20	.44**
	(.17)	(.13)	(.13)	(.13)
Male Democrat	-.76***	-.23*	.22*	.45***
	(.14)	(.09)	(.09)	(.09)
Republican woman	.13	.02	.21	-.09
	(.25)	(.16)	(.17)	(.17)
Female opponent	.01	.30**	-.56***	.11
	(.16)	(.11)	(.12)	(.11)
Incumbent candidate	.11	-.67***	.88***	-.32*
	(.13)	(.10)	(.10)	(.10)
Open seat	.13	-.44***	.15	.46***
	(.16)	.1064161	(.11)	(.11)
Winner	.03	-.51***	.66***	-.03
	(.13)	(.09)	(.09)	(.09)
Election characteristics				
General election	.85***	.85***	-.72***	-.49***
	(.27)	(.13)	(.12)	(.13)
Margin	-.02*	-.01***	.01***	.01*
	(.01)	.003	(.003)	(.003)
House	.29	-.52**	-.30	.01
	(.35)	(.17)	(.17)	(.16)
Senate	.81*	-.43*	.13	-.27
	(.35)	(.18)	(.18)	(.17)
Ad characteristics				
Candidate sponsor	-.81*	-.58*	.44	.74*
	(.32)	(.25)	(.27)	(.24)
Party sponsor	1.66***	2.20***	-2.77***	-1.63***
	(.34)	(.32)	(.40)	(.30)
Hybrid sponsor	.90**	.66*	-.57	-1.84***
	(.34)	(.28)	(.30)	(.34)
Demographics				
Democrat state	-.05*	-.01	-.04***	.02**
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Percent white	-.01	-.01	.01*	.01
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Voter age	.0001	.06*	.02	-.04
	(.05)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)

Table 7.3 continued

	Fear	Anger	Enthusiasm	Hope
Percent urban	-.001	.004	.01**	-.01**
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Percent college graduates	.02	-.04**	.01	.03*
	(.02)	(.01)	(.01)	(.02)
Percent below poverty line	-.002	-.03*	.02	.03*
	(.02)	(.01)	(.02)	(.02)
Percent women in state legislature	.02	.02**	.003	-.03***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Constant	-.71	.22	-1.14	-.44
	(1.02)	(.67)	(.74)	(.72)

Model1 (Fear) chi^2= 511.91*** df= 21; log likelihood= -1103.5273; Pseudo R^2=0.22, N= 3401.
Model 2(Anger) chi^2= 460.38*** df= 21; log likelihood= -1995.0817; Pseudo R^2=0.15, N= 3401.
Model 2(Enthusiasm) chi^2= 410.52*** df= 21; log likelihood= -1939.0406; Pseudo R^2=0.15, N= 3400.
Model 2(Hope) chi^2= 458.77*** df= 21; log likelihood= -1968.0403; Pseudo R^2=0.16, N= 3401.
*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.
Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

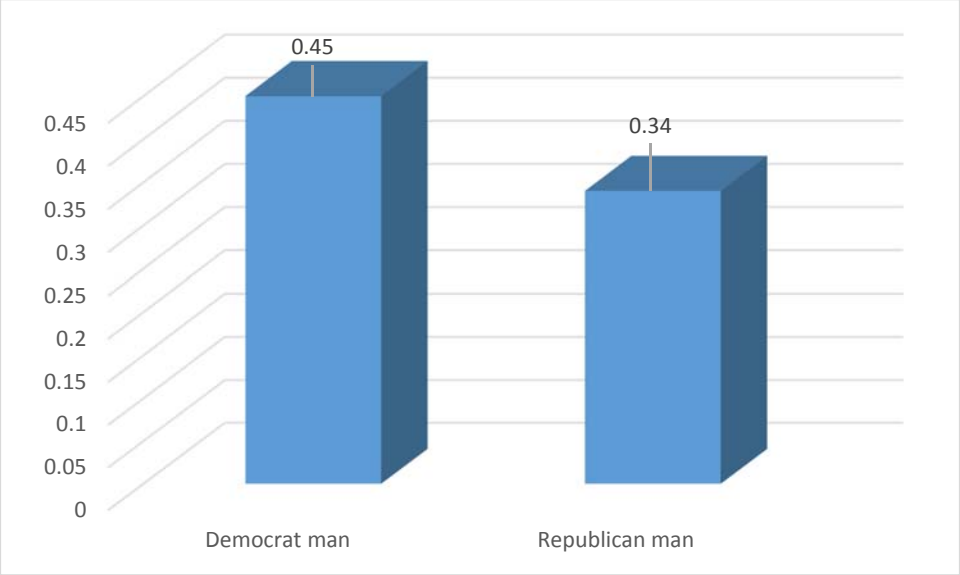

Figure 7.9: Comparison of predicted probability of Republican and Democrat men candidates using hope appeals.

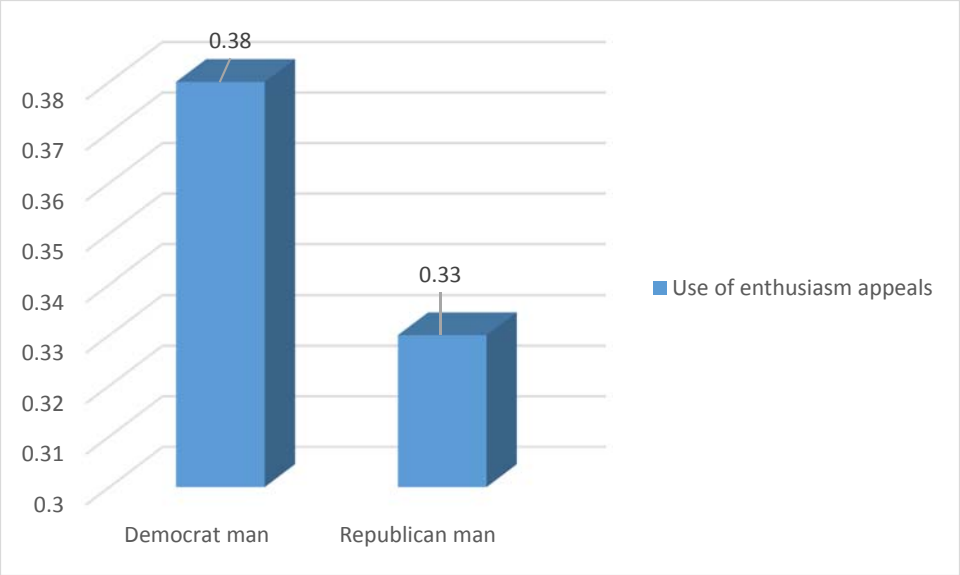

Figure 7.10: Comparison of predicted probability of Republican and Democrat men candidates using enthusiasm appeals.

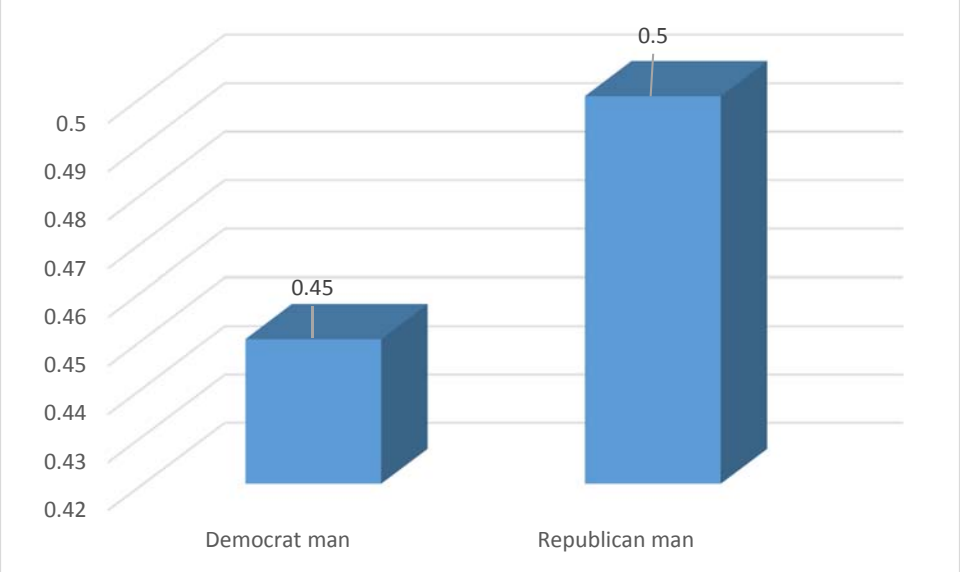

Figure 7.11: Comparison of predicted probability of Republican and Democrat men candidates using anger appeals.

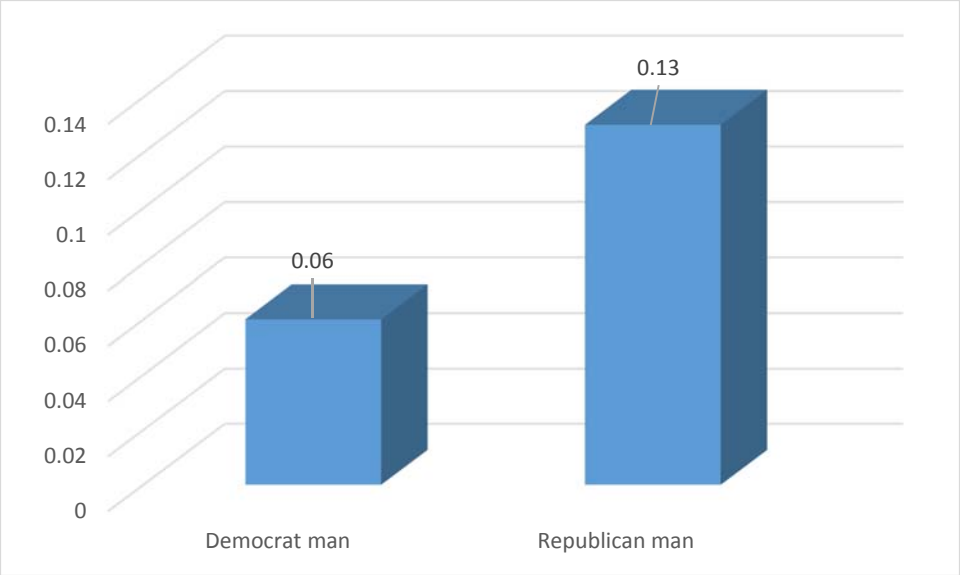

Figure 7.12: Comparison of predicted probability of Republican and Democrat men candidates using fear appeals.

H5: Women running against male candidates are likely to differ in their use of fear appeals from women running against female candidates.

H6: Women running against men candidates are likely to differ in their use of anger appeals from women running against female candidates.

Hypothesis 5 predicted that the opponent candidate's gender will affect the type of emotion used in the favored candidate's ads. As shown in Table 7.4, the hypothesis was not supported. Women running against male candidates are less likely to use fear (B= -.30, rse=.27, p>.05) than women running against other women, but this difference is not significant. Figure 7.9 shows that the predicted probability of women using fear appeals when they run against men is 0.11 compared to 0.14 when they run against women. Hypothesis 6 is not supported. Though women running against men are less likely to use anger (B= -.24, rse=0.22, p>.05) than women running against women, the difference is insignificant. The predicted probability of using anger appeals is 0.54 for women running against men and 0.6 for women running against women.

Table 7.4 also shows that there is a significant difference between men and women's use of fear appeals when they are fighting against a female opponent. Men candidates competing against women are significantly less likely to use fear appeals (B=0.60, rse=0.29, p<.05) than women in an all-women race. Interestingly, in all male races, the use of anger appeals (B= -.55, rse=0.20, p<.01) is significantly less than in all women's races.

Table 7.4: Factors predicting the use of fear and anger appeals by women candidates against male and female opponents

	Fear		Anger	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Candidate characteristics				
Women against male opponent	-.3007364 .2746166	-0.0238	-.2415855 .218888	-0.0601
Male against female opponent	-.601508* .2886556	-0.0433	-.2387834 .2303919	-0.0594
Male against male opponent	-.4485716 .2315865	-0.0412	-.5451659** .2004961	-0.1354
Incumbent candidate	.0802073 .1306208	0.0070	-.662322*** .097949	-0.1634
Open seat	.1458294 .156975	0.0129	-.426558*** .1057762	-0.1057
Winner	.0317558 .1269403	0.0027	-.518342*** .0897637	-0.1288
Democrat	-.729336*** .1215924	-0.0642	-.1414115 .0813269	-0.0353
Election characteristics				
General election	.8585579*** .2643248	0.0581	.857*** .1258335	0.2049
Margin	-.0175667** .0058777	-0.0971	-.014719*** .0032443	-0.3291
House	.1840036 .3472486	0.0155	-.5626425 .1655908	-0.1397
Senate	.7006253* .3555568	0.0687	-.4724913 .1781508	-0.1170

Table 7.4 continued

	Fear		Anger	
Ad characteristics				
Candidate sponsor	-.809515**	-0.0843	-.5844218*	-0.1445
	.322947		.2440271	
Party sponsor	1.653354***	0.2345	2.17497***	0.4378
	.3358712		.3128248	
Hybrid sponsor	.9191005**	0.1071	.6637269*	0.1623
	.3435573		.2758011	
Demographics				
Democrat state	-.0349139*	-0.1300	-.0085449	-0.1076
	.0141739		.0083027	
Percent white	-.0109294	-0.0748	-.0097381*	-0.1707
	.0074457		.0048791	
Voter age	.0039641	0.0201	.0560895*	0.5586
	.0466285		.0269763	
Percent urban	-.0007685	-0.0037	.0044689	0.0628
	.0069105		.0046933	
Percent college graduates	.0191808	0.1602	-.037382**	-0.4737
	.0218958		.0138998	
Percent below poverty line	-.003557	-0.0212	-.0276278	-0.4102
	.0224868		.0146301	
Percent women in state legislature	.0165649	0.1465	.0240587**	0.3998
	.0108624		.0078365	
Constant	-.3171979		.7776867	
	1.040592		.6934614	

Model1 (Fear) chi^2= 511.57*** df= 21; log likelihood= -1102.9385; Pseudo R^2=0.22, N= 3401. Model 2 (Anger) chi^2= 459.35*** df= 21; log likelihood= -1997.3012; Pseudo R^2=0.15 N= 3401. *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.
Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

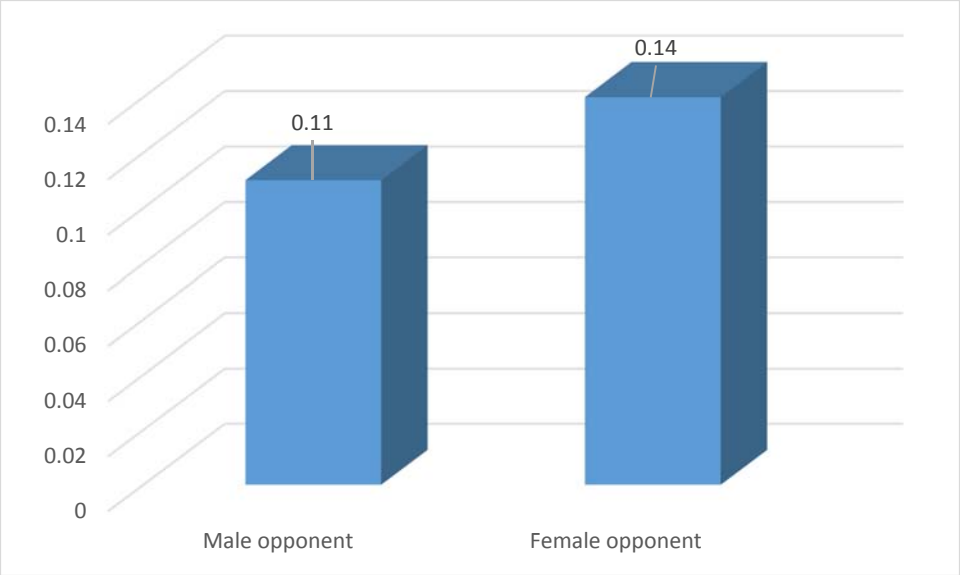

Figure 7.13: Comparison of predicted probability of women candidates using fear appeals against male and female opponents.

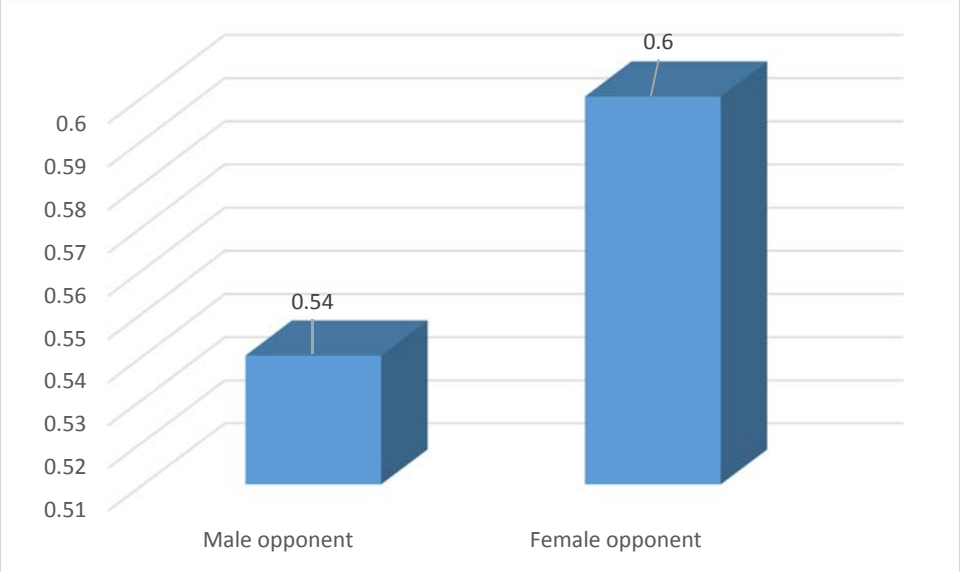

Figure 7.14: Comparison of predicted probability of women candidates using anger appeals against male and female opponents.

Results for Election Variables

H7a: Women candidates in Senate races are likely to differ in their use of fear appeals from men running in Senate races.

H7b: Women candidates in House races are likely to differ in their use of fear appeals from men running in House races.

H7c: Women candidates in Governor races are likely to differ in their use of fear appeals from men running in Governor races.

Hypotheses 7a, 7b, and 7c address the variation in the use of fear appeals according to different levels of office. As shown in Table 7.5, Hypothesis 7a is supported. Women are more likely to use fear appeals (B=0.58, rse=0.24, $p<.05$) when running for Senate than men candidates. As Figure 7.11 shows, women have a higher predicted probability of using fear appeals—about 0.08 higher—than men.

Hypothesis 7b is not supported. Women are less likely to use fear appeals (B= -.23, rse=.22, $p>.05$) in House races than men candidates, but this difference is not significant. The difference in predicted probabilities for men and women running in House races is 0.02.

I find support for Hypothesis 7c. Women running for governor are more likely to use fear appeals (B=3.42, rse=1.07, $p<.001$) than men running for the same office. The predicted probability differences in the use of fear appeals between men and women is 0.2.

One possible reason for this finding could be the perception that candidates elected to the House are expected to perform tasks and possess qualities more congruent with women's stereotypical strengths. Since fear appeals might cause voters to reevaluate their voting preferences and possibly rethink their gender stereotypes, women do not use them while running for House races.

Table 7.5: Factors predicting the use of fear appeals in Senate, House and Governor elections

	Senate		House		Governor	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Candidate characteristics						
Women X Senate	.58*	0.06	.98***	0.11	3.39***	0.63
	(.24)		(.26)		(1.03)	
Men X Senate			.40**	0.04	2.80**	0.42
			(.15)		(1.02)	
Women X House	-.63**	-0.04	-.23	-0.02	2.17*	0.33
	(.24)		(.22)		(1.03)	
Men X House	-.40**	-0.03			2.41*	0.21
	(.15)				(1.02)	
Women X Governor	.62	0.06	1.02**	0.12	3.42***	0.65
	(.39)		(.39)		(1.07)	
Men X Governor	-2.80**	-0.09	-2.41*	-0.09		
	(1.02)		(1.02)			
Incumbent candidate	.06	0.01	.06	0.01	.06	0.01
	(.13)		(.13)		(.13)	
Open seat	.12	0.01	.12	0.01	.12	0.01
	(.16)		(.16)		(.16)	
Democrat	-.77***	-0.06	-.77***	-0.06	-.77***	-0.06
	(.12)		(.12)		(.12)	
Female opponent	.08	0.01	.08	0.01	.08	0.01
	(.16)		(.16)		(.16)	
Winner	-.03	-0.002	-.03	-0.002	-.03	-0.002
	(.13)		(.13)		(.13)	
Election characteristics						
General election	.92***	0.06	.92***	0.06	.92***	0.06
	(.26)		(.26)		(.26)	
Margin	-.01*	-0.08	-.01*	-0.08	-.01*	-0.08
	(.01)		(.01)		(.01)	
Ad characteristics						
Candidate sponsor	-.82*	-0.08	-.82*	-0.08	-.82*	-0.08
	(.33)		(.33)		(.33)	
Party sponsor	1.69	0.23	1.69***	0.23	1.69***	0.23
	(.34)		(.34)		(.34)	
Hybrid sponsor	.89**	0.10	.89**	0.10	.89**	0.10
	(.35)		(.35)		(.35)	

Table 7.5 continued

	Senate		House		Governor	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Demographics						
Democrat state	-.04**	-0.13	-.04*	-0.13	-.04**	-0.13
	(.01)		(.01)		(.01)	
Percent white	-.01	-0.04	-.01	-0.04	-.01	-0.04
	(.01)		(.01)		(.01)	
Voter age	-.02	-0.06	-.02	-0.06	-.02	-0.06
	(.05)		(.05)		(.05)	
Percent urban	.01	0.02	.01	0.02	.01	0.02
	(.01)		(.01)		(.01)	
Percent college graduates	.02	0.21	.02	0.21	.02	0.21
	(.02)		(.02)		(.02)	
Percent below poverty line	.01	0.05	.01	0.05	.01	0.05
	(.02)		(.02)		(.02)	
Percent women in state legislature	.01	0.10	.01	0.10	.01	0.10
	(.01)		(.01)		(.01)	
Constant	-.28		-.68		-3.09*	
	(.95)		(.99)		(1.41)	

Senate: chi^2= 504.86*** df= 22; log likelihood= -1092.0406; Pseudo R^2=0.23, N= 3401.
House: chi^2= 504.86*** df= 22; log likelihood= -1092.0406; Pseudo R^2=0.23 N= 3401.
Governor: chi^2=504.86*** df= 22; log likelihood=-1092.0406; Pseudo R^2=0.23 N=3401.
*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001
Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

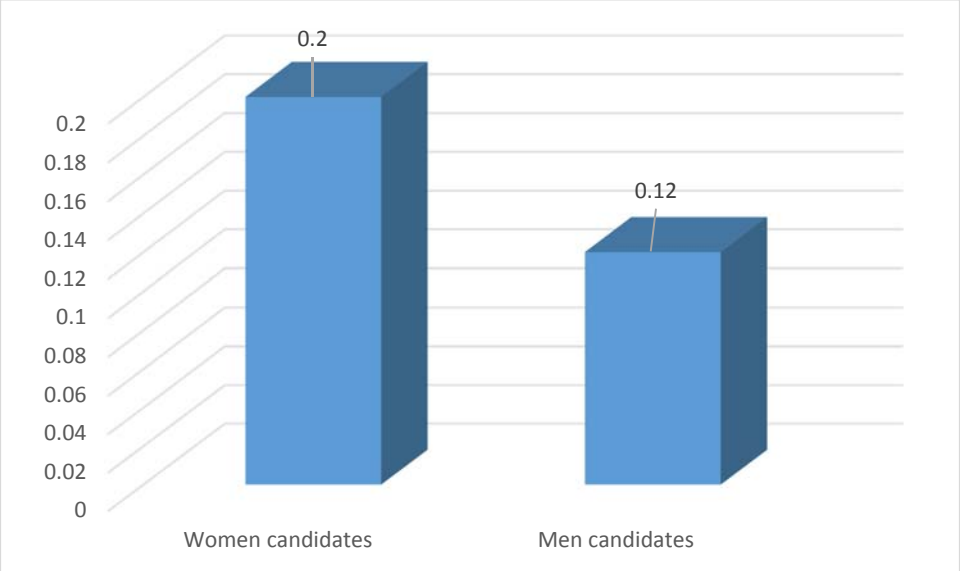

Figure 7.15: Comparison of predicted probability of women and men candidates using fear appeals in Senate races.

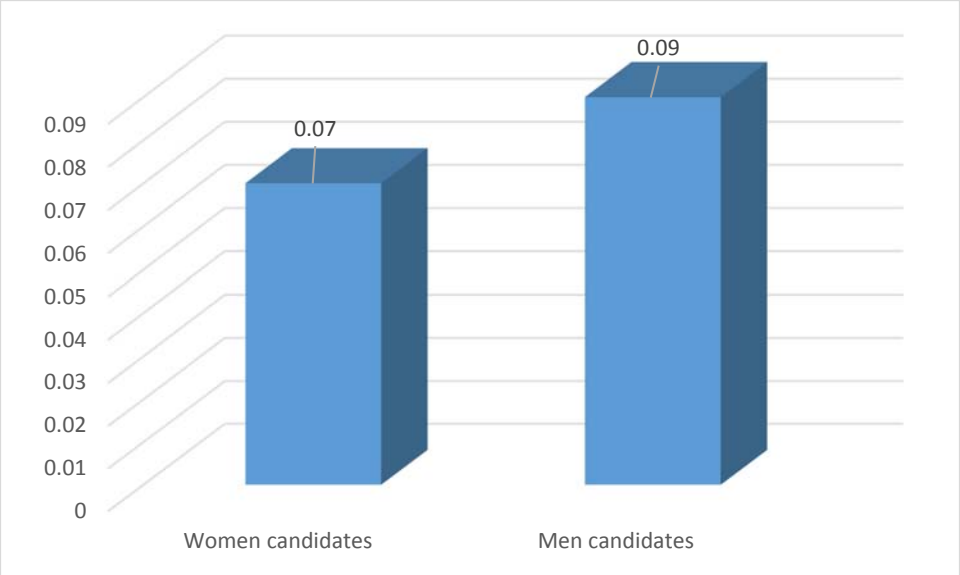

Figure 7.16: Comparison of predicted probability of women and men candidates using fear appeals in House races.

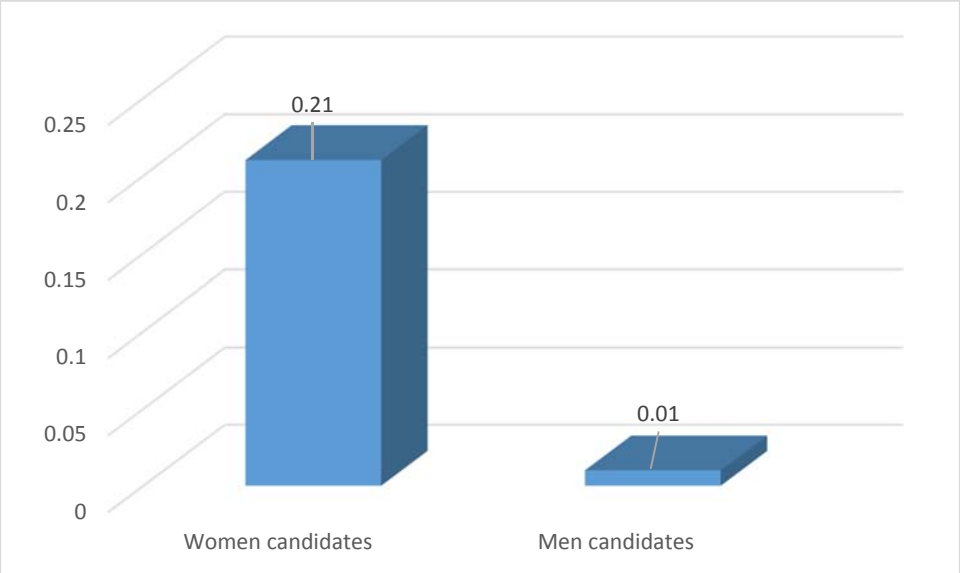

Figure 7.17: Comparison of predicted probability of women and men candidates using fear appeals in Governor races.

H8a: Women Democrats running for competitive elections are more likely to use fear appeals than male Democrats.

H8b: Male Democrats running for competitive elections use fear appeals differently from male Republicans.

H8c: Women Democrats running for competitive elections are less likely to use fear appeals than women Republicans.

H8d: Men Republicans running for competitive elections are less likely to use fear appeals than women Republicans.

Hypotheses 8a, 8b, and 8c examine the impact of competitiveness on the use of emotions. Hypothesis 8a states that women Democrats will use more fear appeals in competitive elections than their male counterparts. As Model 1 in Table 7.6 shows, this hypothesis is not supported. Women Democrats are less likely to use fear emotions (B= -.02, rse=.02, p>.05) than men. Figure 7.18 shows that the difference in predicted probabilities of using fear appeals between women and men Democrats in highly competitive races is 0.05. Men Democrats have a higher predicted probability of using fear appeals in their ads.

Hypothesis 8b which compares male Democrats and Republicans in competitive elections is not supported. Male Republicans are less likely to use fear (B= -0.02, rse=.01, p>.05) compared to male Democrats, though this relationship is not significant at p<.05. Figure 7.19 shows that that the difference in predicted probabilities between men Democrats and Republicans is 0.09. Men Democrats have a higher probability of using fear appeals.

Model 2 in Table 7.6 shows that women Democrats are more likely to use fear appeals than women Republicans (B=.04, rse=.03, p>.05), though this relationship is not significant. Thus Hypothesis 8c is not supported. Figure 7.20 shows that the difference in predicted

probabilities between the two groups is 0.21, with Democrat women having a lower predicted probability than Republican women.

Lastly, Model 2 shows that male Republicans are more likely to use fear appeals than their female counterparts, though this relationship is insignificant (B=0.05, rse=0.03, p>.05). Thus Hypothesis 8d is not supported. Figure 7.21 shows that the difference in predicted probabilities between the two groups is 0.14, with Republican men having a lower predicted probability of using fear appeals than Republican women.

Table 7.6: Factors predicting the use of fear appeals in competitive elections

	Model 1		Model 2	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Candidate characteristics				
Democrat woman	.60*	0.06	-1.01*	-0.07
	(.26)		(.47)	
Republican woman	1.61***	0.24		
	(.45)			
Republican man	.96***	0.09	-.65	-0.05
	(.18)		(.44)	
Democrat man			-1.61***	-0.13
			(.45)	
Democrat Woman X competitive	-.02	-0.08	.04	0.62
	(.02)		(.03)	
Democrat Man X competitive			.07*	0.91
			(.03)	
Republican Man X competitive	-.02	-0.08	.05	0.83
	(.01)		(.03)	
Republican Woman X competitive	-.06*	-0.10		
	(.03)			
Female opponent	-.01	-0.001	-.01	-0.001
	(.16)		(.16)	
Incumbent candidate	.08	0.01	.08	0.01
	(.13)		(.13)	
Open seat	.09	0.01	.09	0.01
	(.16)		(.16)	
Winner	.04	0.004	.04	0.004
	(.13)		(.13)	

Table 7.6 continued

	Model 1		Model 2	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Election characteristics				
General election	.86***	0.06	.86***	0.06
	(.26)		(.26)	
Margin	-.01	-0.04	-.07*	-0.23
	(.01)		(.03)	
House	.32	0.03	.32	0.03
	(.35)		(.35)	
Senate	.83*	0.08	.83*	0.08
	(.35)		(.35)	
Ad characteristics				
Candidate sponsor	-.79*	-0.08	-.79*	-0.08
	(.33)		(.33)	
Party sponsor	1.68***	0.24	1.68***	0.24
	(.34)		(.34)	
Hybrid sponsor	.91**	0.11	.92**	0.11
	(.35)		(.35)	
Demographics				
Democrat state	-.03*	-0.12	-.03*	-0.12
	(.01)		(.01)	
Percent white	-.01	-0.08	-.01	-0.08
	(.01)		(.01)	
Voter age	.002	0.01	.002	0.01
	(.05)		(.05)	
Percent urban	-.003	-0.01	-.003	-0.01
	(.01)		(.01)	
Percent college graduates	.02	0.16	.02	0.16
	(.02)		(.02)	
Percent below poverty line	-.003	-0.02	-.003	-0.02
	(.02)		(.02)	
Percent women in state legislature	.02	0.14	.02	0.14
	(.01)		(.01)	
Constant	-1.65			
	(1.03)			

Model1 chi^2= 522.66***df= 24; log likelihood=-1100.4505; Pseudo R^2=0.22, N= 3401.
Model2 chi^2= 522.66*** df= 24; log likelihood= -1100.4505; Pseudo R^2=0.22 N= 3401.
*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001
Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

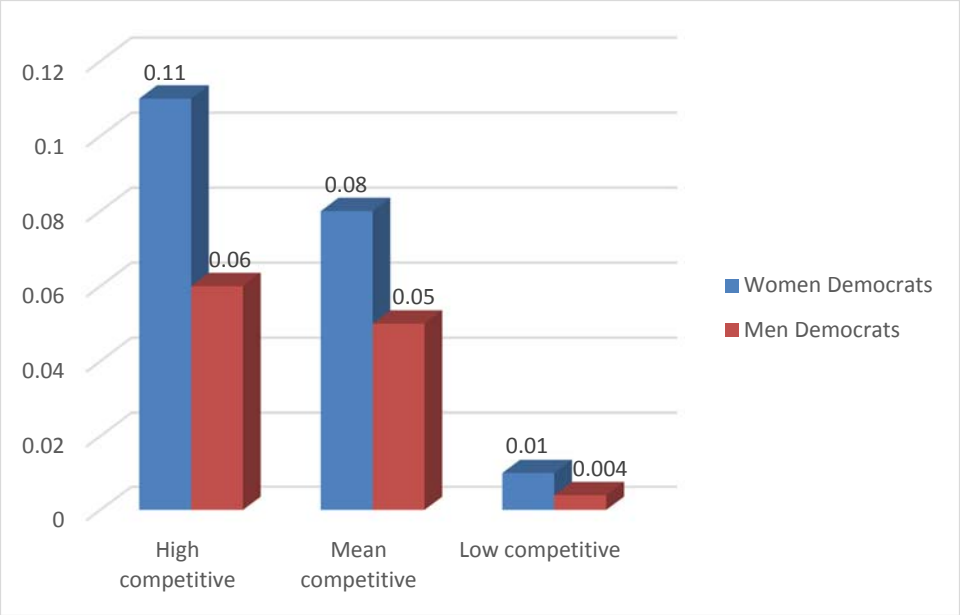

Figure 7.18: Comparison of predicted probability of women and men Democrats using fear appeals in competitive races.

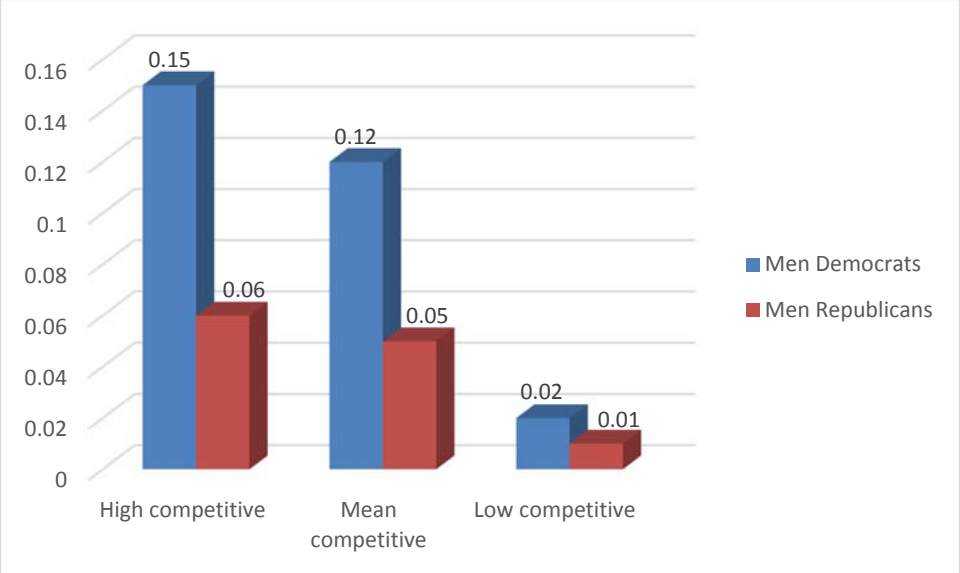

Figure 7.19: Comparison of predicted probability of men Democrats and Republicans using fear appeals in competitive races.

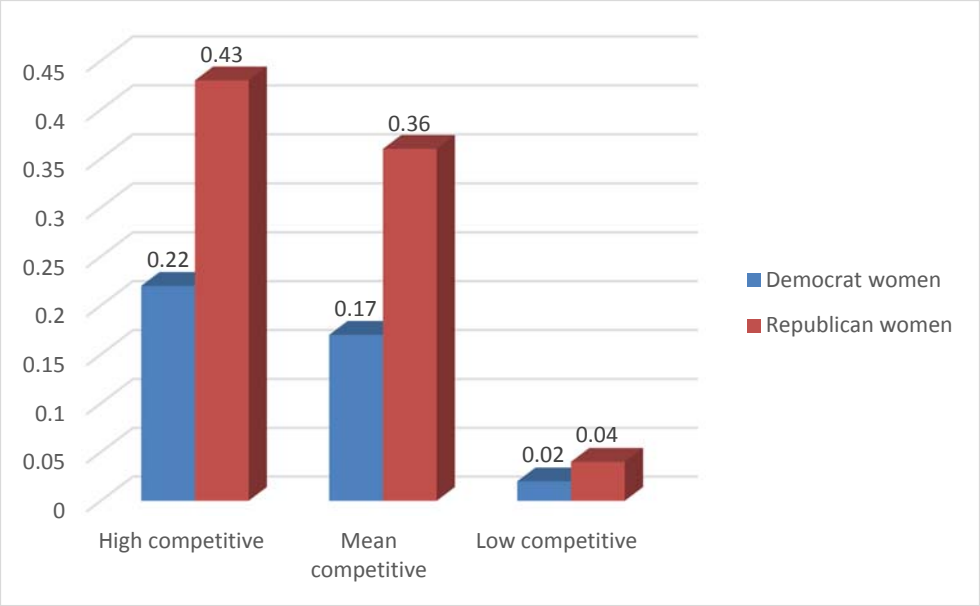

Figure 7.20: Comparison of predicted probability of women Democrats and Republicans using fear appeals in competitive races.

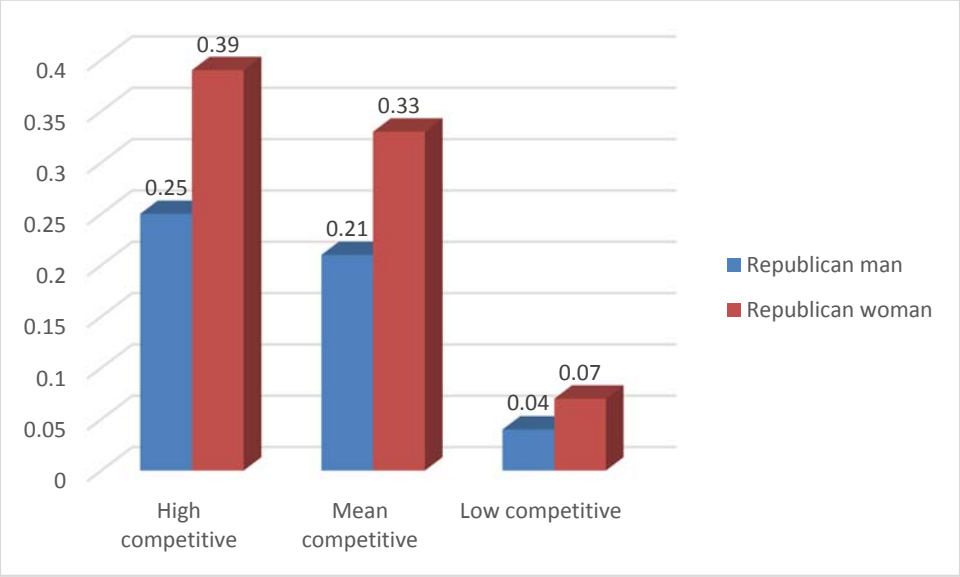

Figure 7.21: Comparison of predicted probability of men and women Republicans using fear appeals in competitive races.

Results for Ad Variables

H9a: Ads with feminine characteristics are less likely to have negative emotions than ads with masculine characteristics.

Hypothesis 9a examined the likelihood of feminine ads having fear and anger appeals. The hypothesis was supported as ads having feminine qualities were less likely to have fear (B= -.73, rse=0.13, p<.001) and anger appeals (B= -.82, rse= 0.12, p<.001) than ads with masculine qualities. As shown in Figure 7.18, feminine ads have a 0.08 lower predicted probability of using fear appeals than masculine ads, and Figure 7.19 shows, feminine ads have a 0.2 lower predicted probability of using anger appeals than masculine ads.

Table 7.7: Factors predicting the use of fear and anger appeals

	Fear appeals		Anger appeals	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Ad characteristics				
Feminine ad	-.73***	-0.07	-.82***	-0.20
	(.13)		(.12)	
Candidate sponsor	-.80*	-0.08	-.55*	-0.14
	(.32)		(.25)	
Party sponsor	1.31***	0.17	1.85***	0.39
	(.34)		(.32)	
Hybrid sponsor	.63	0.07	.42	0.10
	(.35)		(.28)	
Candidate characteristics				
Female candidate	.27	0.02	.33***	0.08
	(.15)		(.10)	
Democrat	-.73***	-0.06	-.14	-0.04
	(.12)		(.08)	
Female opponent	-.02	-0.002	.30**	0.07
	(.16)		(.11)	
Incumbent candidate	.13	0.01	-.68***	-0.17
	(.13)		(.10)	
Open seat	.14	0.01	-.43***	-0.11
	(.16)		(.11)	

Table 7.7 continued

	Fear appeals		Anger appeals	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Winner	.04	0.003	-.49***	-0.12
	(.13)		(.09)	
Election characteristics				
General election	.79**	0.05	.82***	0.20
	(.26)		(.13)	
Margin	-.02**	-0.09	-.01***	-0.33
	(.01)		(.003)	
House	.21	0.02	-.57***	-0.14
	(.35)		(.16)	
Senate	.66	0.06	-.60***	-0.15
	(.36)		(.18)	
Demographics				
Democrat state	-.04*	-0.13	-.01	-0.07
	(.01)		(.01)	
Percent white	-.01	-0.09	-.01	-0.16
	(.01)		(.01)	
Voter age	.01	0.03	.06*	0.55
	(.05)		(.03)	
Percent urban	-.001	-0.01	.004	0.06
	(.01)		(.01)	
Percent college graduates	.02	0.21	-.03*	-0.46
	(.02)		(.01)	
Percent below poverty	-.003	-0.02	-.02	-0.39
line	(.02)		(.01)	
Percent women in	.01	0.11	.02**	0.36
state legislature	(.01)		(.01)	
Constant	-.13		.82	
	(1.03)		(.69)	

Model 1(Fear) chi^2= 519.30***df= 21; log likelihood= -1088.7122; Pseudo R^2=0.23, N= 3400.
Model 2 (Anger) chi^2= 528.45***df= 21; log likelihood= -1972.5466; Pseudo R^2=0.16, N= 3400.

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

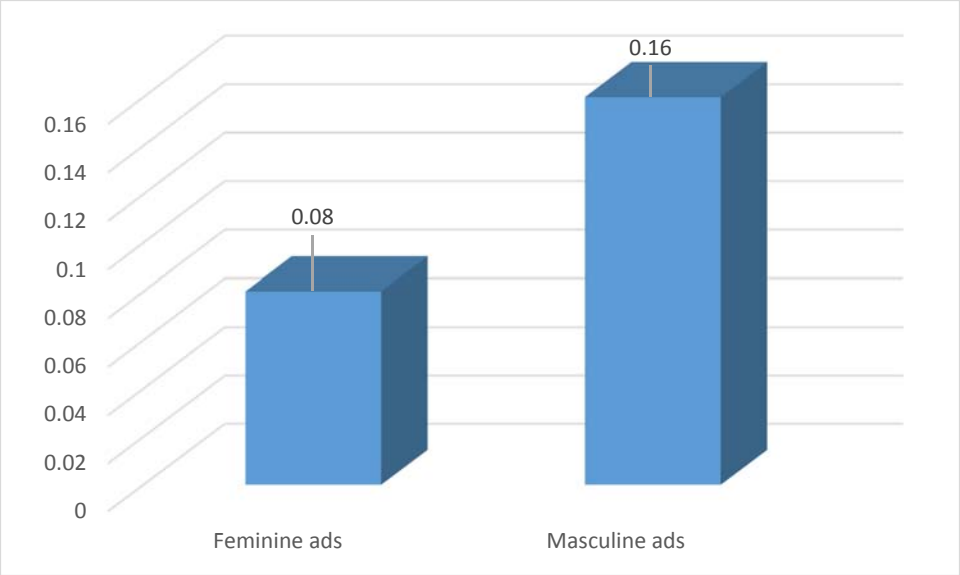

Figure 7.22: Comparison of predicted probability of using fear appeals in masculine and feminine ads.

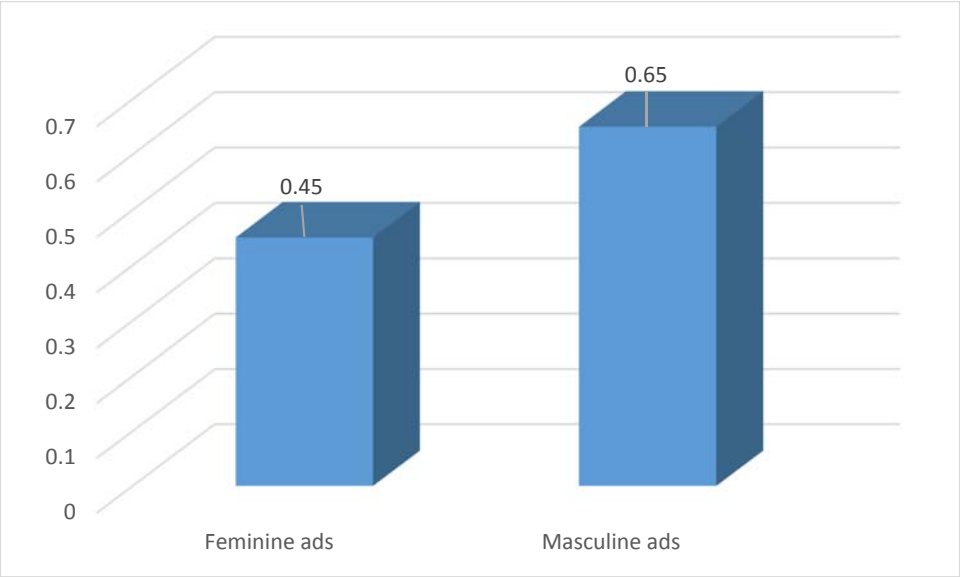

Figure 7.23: Comparison of predicted probability of using anger appeals in masculine and feminine ads.

H9b: Ads with feminine characteristics are more likely to have positive emotions than ads with masculine characteristics.

The analysis as summarized in Table 7.8 below shows that Hypothesis 9b is supported. The hypothesis stated that ads with feminine characteristics are more likely than those with masculine characteristics to have positive emotions. These expectations are based on the assumption that positive emotions will be aligned with feminine ads and negative emotions will be associated with masculine ads. The results show that feminine ads are more likely than masculine ads to have hope (B=0.69, rse=0.13, p<.001) and enthusiasm appeals (B=0.85, rse=0.14, p<.001). Further, Figure 7.20 shows that feminine ads have a 0.17 higher predicted probability of using enthusiasm appeals than masculine ads, and a 0.16 higher predicted probability of using hope appeals.

Table 7.8: Factors predicting the use of fear and anger appeals in feminine ads

	Hope appeals		Enthusiasm appeals	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Ad characteristics				
Feminine ad	.69*** (.13)	0.16	.85*** (.14)	0.17
Candidate sponsor	.70** (.24)	0.16	.43 (.27)	0.09
Party sponsor	-1.33*** (.31)	-0.26	-2.40*** (.41)	-0.34
Hybrid sponsor	-1.63*** (.34)	-0.30	-.31 (.32)	-0.07
Candidate characteristics				
Female candidate	-.07 (.10)	-0.02	-.21* (.10)	-0.05
Democrat	.46*** .08	0.11	.10 (.08)	0.02
Female opponent	.10 .11	0.02	-.55*** (.12)	-0.12

Table 7.8 continued

	Hope appeals		Enthusiasm appeals	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Incumbent candidate	-.31** .10	-0.07	.88***	0.20
			(.10)	
Open seat	.47***	0.11	.13	0.03
	(.11)		(.11)	
Winner	-.06	-0.01	.64***	0.14
	(.09)		(.09)	
Election characteristics				
General election	-.46***	-0.11	-.69***	-0.16
	(.13)		(.12)	
Margin	.01*	0.14	.01***	0.28
	(.003)		(.003)	
House	-.001	-0.001	-.23	0.28
	(.16)		(.16)	
Senate	-.19	-0.04	.32	0.07
	(.17)		(.18)	
Demographics				
Democrat state	.02*	0.23	-.04***	-0.40
	(.01)		(.01)	
Percent white	.01	0.14	.003	0.05
	(.01)		(.01)	
Voter age	-.04	-0.36	.02	0.24
	(.03)		(.03)	
Percent urban	-.01**	-0.17	.01**	0.17
	(.05)		(.01)	
Percent college graduates	.03	0.41	.01	0.13
	(.01)		(.02)	
Percent below poverty	.03*	0.49	.01	0.21
line	(.02)		(.02)	
Percent women in	-.03***	-0.39	.01	0.11
state legislature	(.01)		(.01)	
Constant	-.93		-1.79*	
	(.73)		(.76)	

Model 1(Hope) chi^2= 554.68***df= 21; log likelihood= -1952.7528; Pseudo R^2=0.16, N= 3400.
Model 2 (Enthusiasm) chi^2= 462.16***df= 21; log likelihood= -1919.9274; Pseudo R^2=0.16, N= 3399.

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

The table reflects the results of a one-tailed hypothesis.

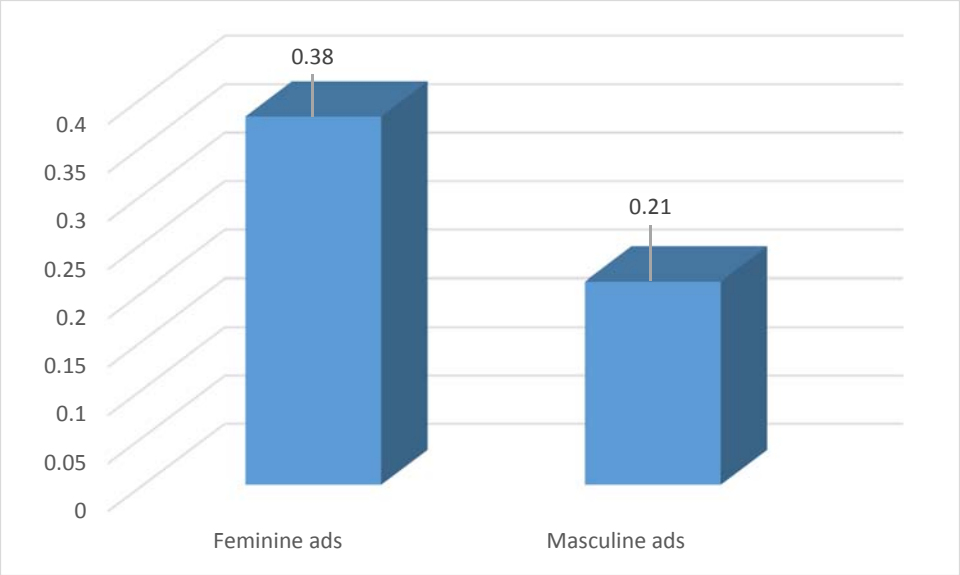

Figure 7.24: Comparison of predicted probability of using enthusiasm appeals in masculine and feminine ads.

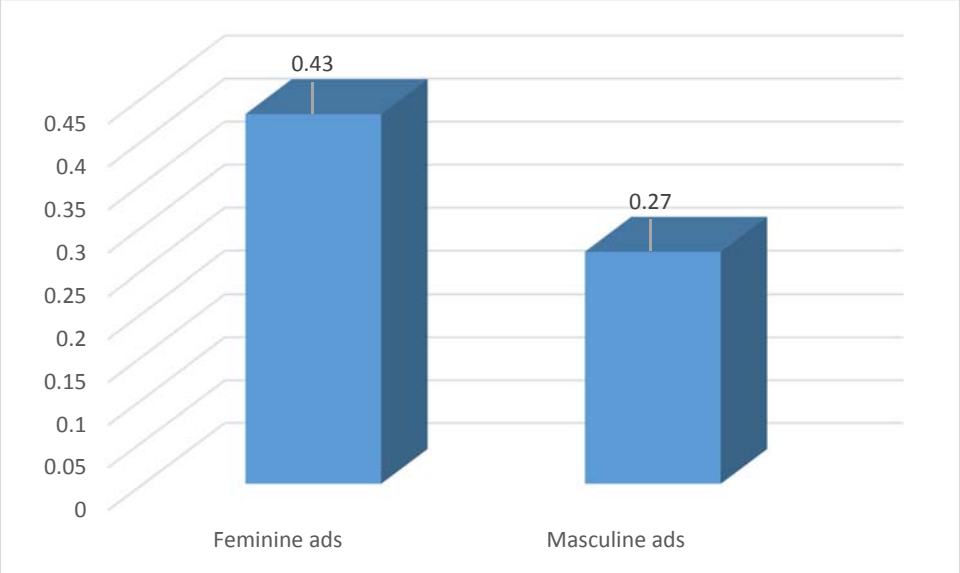

Figure 7.25: Comparison of predicted probability of using hope appeals in masculine and feminine ads.

H10a: Women candidates are more likely to use negative emotions in masculine ads than male candidates.

H10b: Male candidates are less likely to use negative emotions in feminine ads than masculine ads.

Hypothesis 10a I partially supported. As shown in Table 7.9, women candidates are more likely to use anger appeals in masculine ads, though this difference is not significant (B=0.22, rse=0.22, p>.05). Women candidates are less likely to use fear emotions in masculine ads (B= -0.67, rse=0.26, p<0.01). As Figure 7.22 shows, women have a 0.05 higher predicted probability of using in masculine ads than men candidates. As Figure 7.23 shows, women have a 0.07 lower predicted probability of using fear appeals.

Hypothesis 10b is supported. Men candidates are less likely to use fear (B= -.78, rse= 0.14, p<.001) and anger appeals (B= -.71, rse=0.12, p<.001) in feminine ads.

Table 7.9: Factors predicting the use of fear and anger in masculine ads

	Anger		Fear	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Candidate characteristics				
Female candidate	1.01**	0.24	.39	
	(.33)		(.25)	
Women X Masculine ad	.22	0.05	-.67**	-0.05
	(.22)		(.26)	
Men X Feminine ad	-.71***	-0.18	-.78***	-0.07
	(.12)		(.14)	
Women X Feminine ad	-1.66***	-0.37	-.35	-0.03
	(.37)		(.28)	
Democrat	-.14	-0.04	-.73***	-0.06
	(.08)		(.12)	
Female opponent	.28*	0.07	-.01	-0.001
	(.11)		(.16)	
Incumbent candidate	-.68***	-0.17	.15	0.01
	(.10)		(.13)	

Table 7.9 continued

	Anger		Fear	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Open seat	-.43***	-0.11	.13	0.01
	(.11)		(.16)	
Winner	-.48***	-0.12	.01	0.001
	(.09)		(.13)	
Ad characteristics				
Candidate sponsor	-.56*	-0.14	-.78*	-0.08
	(.25)		(.32)	
Party sponsor	1.82***	0.39	1.34***	0.174
	(.32)		(.34)	
Hybrid sponsor	.37	0.09	.64	0.07
	(.28)		(.35)	
Election characteristics				
General election	.82***	0.20	.79**	0.05
	(.13)		(.26)	
Margin	-.02***	-0.33	-.02**	-0.09
	(.003)		(.01)	
House	-.59***	-0.15	.19	0.02
	(.16)		(.35)	
Senate	-.61***	-0.15	.64	0.06
	(.18)		(.35)	
Demographics				
Democrat state	-.01	-0.08	-.03*	-0.13
	(.01)		(.01)	
Percent white	-.01	-0.16	-.01	-0.09
	(.01)		(.01)	
Voter age	.06	0.55	.01	0.05
	(.03)		(.05)	
Percent urban	.01	0.06	-.003	-0.01
	(.01)		(.01)	
Percent college graduates	-.04*	-0.45	.02	0.21
	(.01)		(.02)	
Percent below poverty line	-.02	-0.38	-.004	-0.03
	(.01)		(.02)	
Percent women in state	.02**	0.35	.01	0.11
legislature	(.01)		(.01)	
Constant	.73		-.06	
	(.68)		(1.03)	

Model 1(Anger) chi^2= 509.32***df= 23; log likelihood= -1968.7291; Pseudo R^2=0.16, N= 3400.
Model 2(Fear) chi^2= 523.52 *** df= 23; log likelihood= -1084.9476; Pseudo R^2= 0.23, N= 3400.
*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001
Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

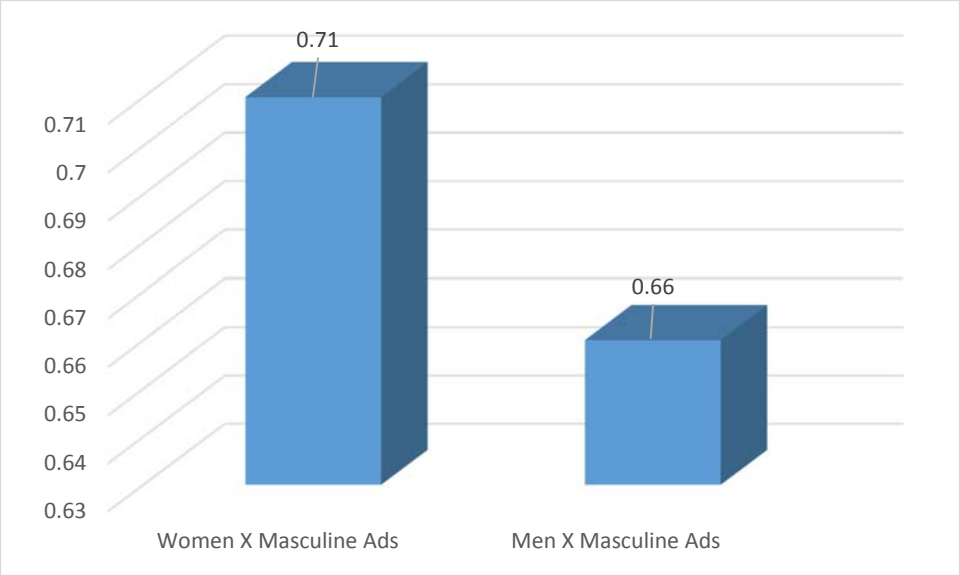

Figure 7.26: Comparison of predicted probability of using anger appeals in masculine ads.

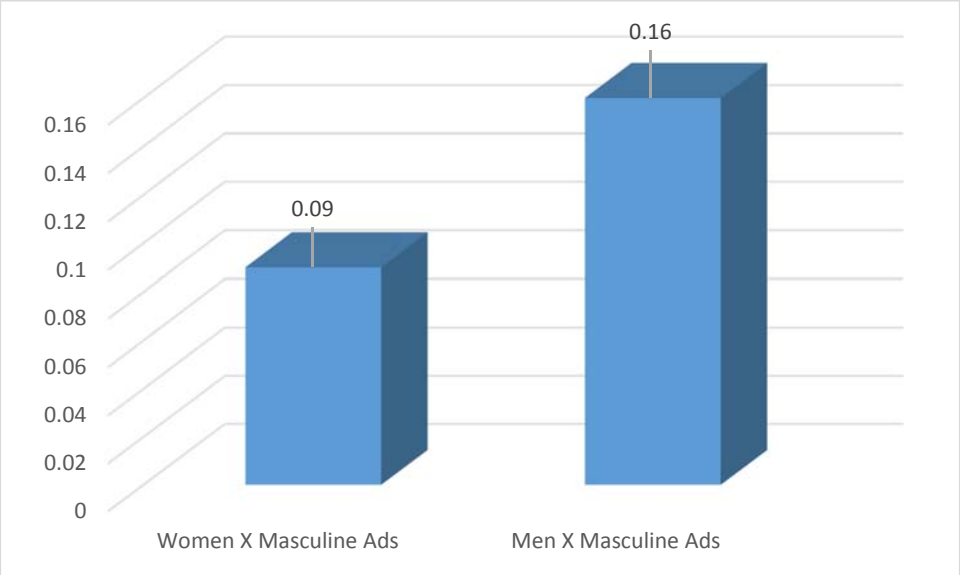

Figure 7.27: Comparison of predicted probability of using fear appeals in masculine ads.

H11a: Democrat women candidates are more likely to use fear appeals in masculine ads than Republican women candidates.

H11b: Democrat males are less likely to use fear appeals in feminine ads than Republican males.

Hypothesis 11a is based on the women and politics literature and stated that Democrat women are more likely to use fear appeals. The expectation is derived from the perception that the Democratic Party is perceived as more feminine than the Republican Party. This hypotheses is, however, unsupported. Women Democrats are less likely to use fear appeals in masculine ads compared to their Republican counterparts (B= -.23, rse=0.26, p>.05). This difference is not significant. Democrat males are less likely to use fear appeals in feminine ads (B= -.40, rse=0.21, p>.05) compared to Republican males, though this difference is not significant at the p<.05 level.

Table 7.10: Factors predicting the use of fear in masculine and feminine ads

	Model 1		Model 2	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Candidate and ad characteristics				
Female candidate	-.31	-0.02	.39	0.04
	(.19)		(.24)	
Democrat women X masculine ad	-.23	-0.02		
	(.26)			
Republican men X masculine ad	-1.28***	-0.08		
	(.17)			
Democrat men X masculine ad	-1.13***	-0.07		
	(.19)			
Democrat women X feminine ad			-.23	-0.02
			(.28)	
Democrat men X feminine ad			-.40	-0.03
			(.21)	
Republican women X feminine ad			-.70	-0.05
			(.38)	
Democrat	-.75***	-0.06	-.58***	-0.05
	(.16)		(.18)	
Incumbent candidate	.14	0.01	.10	0.01
	(.13)		(.13)	

Table 7.10 continued

	Model 1		Model 2	
	B	Min-Max	B	Min-Max
Female opponent	.12	0.01	-.01	-0.001
	(.16)		(.16)	
Open seat	.21	0.02	.11	0.01
	(.16)		(.16)	
Winner	.02	0.001	.04	0.003
	(.13)		(.13)	
Candidate sponsor	-.83*	-0.08	-.82*	-0.08
	(.33)		(.33)	
Party sponsor	1.49***	0.19	1.56***	0.21
	(.35)		(.35)	
Hybrid sponsor	.67	0.07	.81*	0.09
	(.36)		(.35)	
Election characteristics				
General election	.79**	0.05	.82**	0.06
	(.27)		(.26)	
Margin	-.02**	-0.09	-.02**	-0.10
	(.01)		(.01)	
House	.12	0.01	.33	0.03
	(.35)		(.34)	
Senate	.74*	0.07	.83*	0.08
	(.35)		(.35)	
Demographics				
Democrat state	-.03*	-0.11	-.04*	-0.13
	(.01)		(.01)	
Percent white	-.01	-0.05	-.01	-0.08
	(.01)		(.01)	
Voter age	-.01	-0.01	.003	0.01
	(.05)		(.05)	
Percent urban	-.01	-0.01	-.002	-0.01
	(.01)		(.01)	
Percent college graduates	.01	0.09	.03	0.23
	(.02)		(.02)	
Percent below poverty line	.003	0.02	-.002	-0.01
	(.02)		(.02)	
Percent women in state legislature	.02	0.15	.01	0.12
	(.01)		(.01)	
Constant	-.04		-.73	
	(1.04)		(1.02)	

Model1: chi^2= 544.39 *** df= 23; log likelihood= -1059.5829; Pseudo R^2=-0.25 N= 3401.
Model 2: chi^2= 510.31*** df= 23; log likelihood= -1098.7368; Pseudo R^2=-0.22 N= 3400.
*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001
Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

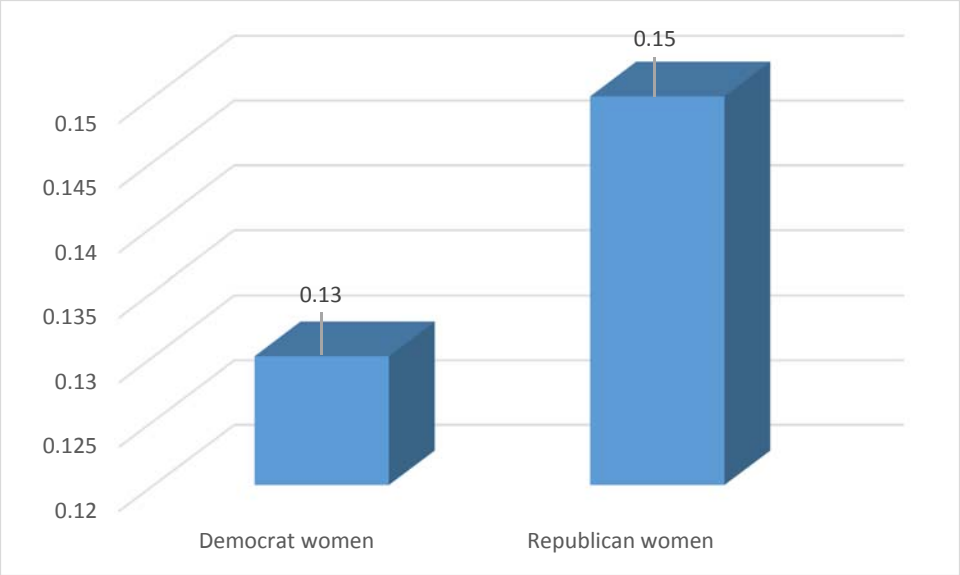

Figure 7.28: Comparison of predicted probability of using fear appeals in masculine ads

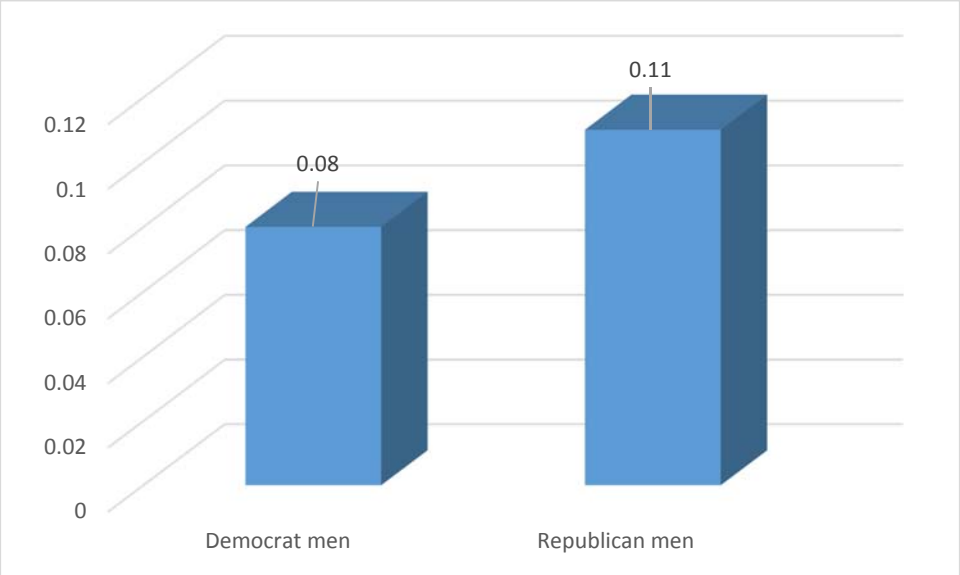

Figure 7.29: Comparison of predicted probability of using anger appeals in masculine ads

Table 7.11: Hypotheses and results summary (unique ads as unit of analysis)

Hypotheses		Results
H1: Women candidates are more likely to use positive emotions than male candidates.	unsupported	Women are less likely to use enthusiasm and hope appeals.
H2: Women candidates are less likely to use negative emotions than male candidates.	unsupported	Women are more likely to use fear and anger appeals.
H3a: Democrat women are likely to differ from Republican women in the use of positive emotions.	partially supported	Democrat women are more likely to use hope, and less likely to use enthusiasm. The difference for enthusiasm appeals is not significant.
H3b: Democrat women are likely to differ from Republican women in the use of negative emotions.	partially supported	Democrat women are less likely to use fear, more likely to use anger. The difference for anger is not significant.
H4a: Democrat and Republican men are likely to differ in the use of positive emotional appeals.	supported	Democrat men are more likely to use hope and enthusiasm appeals.
H4b: Democrat and Republican men are likely to differ in the use of negative emotional appeals.	supported	Democrat men are less likely to use fear and anger appeals.
H5: Women running against male candidates are likely to differ in their use of fear appeals from women running against female candidates.	not supported	Women are less likely to use fear when running against male opponents, but this is not significant at $p<.05$.
H6: Women running against men candidates are likely to differ in their use of anger appeals from women running against female candidates.	not supported	Women are less likely to use anger when running against male opponents, but this is not significant at $p<.05$.
H7a: Women candidates in Senate races are likely to differ in their use of fear appeals from men running in Senate races.	supported	Women use more fear appeals than men.
H7b: Women candidates in House races are likely to differ in their use of fear appeals from men running in House races.	not supported	Women use more fear appeals than men, but the difference is insignificant.

Table 7.11 continued

Hypotheses		Results
H7c: Women candidates in Governor races are likely to differ in their use of fear appeals from men running in Governor races.	supported	Women use more fear appeals than men.
H8a: Women Democrats running for competitive elections are more likely to use fear appeals than male Democrats.	not supported	Women Democrats are less likely to use fear emotions.
H8b: Male Democrats running for competitive elections use fear appeals differently from male Republicans.	not supported	Male Republicans are less likely to use fear, but the difference is insignificant.
H8c: Women Republicans running for competitive elections are more likely to use fear appeals than women Democrats.	not supported	Women Democrats are more likely to use fear appeals than women Republicans, though the relationship is not significant.
H8d: Women Republicans running for competitive elections are less likely to use fear appeals than male Republicans.	not supported	Male Republicans are more likely to use fear appeals than female Republicans.
H9a: Ads with feminine characteristics are less likely to have negative emotions than ads with masculine characteristics.	supported	Ads with feminine characteristics are less likely to have fear and anger appeals than masculine ads.
H9b: Ads with feminine characteristics are more likely to have positive emotions than ads with masculine characteristics.	supported	Ads with feminine characteristics are more likely to have hope and enthusiasm appeals than masculine ads.
H10a: Women candidates are more likely to use negative emotions in masculine ads than male candidates.	partially supported	Women are more likely to use anger, less likely to use fear.
H10b: Male candidates are less likely to use negative emotions in feminine ads than masculine ads.	supported	

Table 7.11 continued

Hypotheses		Results
H11a: Democrat women candidates are more likely to use fear appeals in masculine ads than Republican women candidates.	not supported	Women Democrats are less likely to use fear appeals in masculine ads.
H11b: Democrat males are less likely to use fear appeals in feminine ads than Republican males.	not supported	Democrat males are less likely to use fear appeals in feminine ads, but this is not significant.

CHAPTER 8. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

In this dissertation I examined how gender stereotypes influence the types of emotions used in men's and women's political ads. I identified candidate-, ad-, and election-level factors that cause campaigns to strategically use fear, enthusiasm, hope or anger appeals in their ads. In this chapter, I discuss the key findings, implications and limitations of this dissertation and suggest directions for future research.

Key Findings, Contributions, and Implications

This research finds that campaigns employ emotions strategically to benefit their candidates. Campaigns seem to be aware that emotions have a gendered aspect, but they are also aware that the effect of gender is contingent upon contextual factors. Both the ad airings and unique ads model indicate that campaigns do not treat gender as the sole selection criteria for emotions in ads. Women candidates are not restricted to using positive emotions, and men are not restricted to using negative emotions.

In addition, I find partisan differences in the use of positive and negative emotions, though the direction and significance of the results vary by the model used. The ad airings model finds that Democrat women are more likely to use hope and enthusiasm in their ads, and less likely to use fear and anger. Partisan differences are also evident among male candidates—men Democrats are less likely to use enthusiasm and fear and more likely to use hope and anger. Some of these relationships hold in the unique ads model. Overall, this set of findings indicates that campaigns do not differentiate among emotions solely on the basis of gender or partisanship. Since the Democratic Party is considered more feminine than the Republican Party, we would

expect the Democrat candidates to display more feminine emotions, but the findings indicate that this is not true.

The other findings of this dissertation indicate that gender-emotion stereotypes are context-dependent. The primary factors that influence the type of emotion used are: the gender of the opponent, the level of the office, and the competitiveness of the election. The ad airings model indicates that women candidates are less likely to use fear and anger against male opponents than women opponents. The unique ads model, however, does not show a significant difference between male and female opponents of women candidates. This indicates that one factor driving campaigns' choice of ads to spend their money on, (i.e. air most often) is the gender of the opponent. This finding supports previous studies (see for example Krupnikov and Bauer, 2014), which find that female candidates are disproportionately penalized for airing negative ads when they are the instigators of these ads.

The findings also indicate that emotional appeals vary by office. Candidates running for Senate and governor offices use more fear appeals, while those running for House races are less likely to use fear appeals. This is true for Senate and governor races for the unique ads models as well as the ad airings model, though the relationship for House races is insignificant for the unique ads model. This finding provides support for the theory that some offices are more feminine than others. The use of more fear appeals for governor and Senate offices indicates that campaigns realize that voters associate these offices more with male politicians than female, and therefore women aspiring to run for these offices would benefit from using fear appeals. House races, on the other hand, are more feminine, and therefore campaigns do not see the strategic benefit of using fear appeals for those races. Partisan and gender differences are present in the use of emotions in competitive races. Women use more fear appeals in competitive races than

men, and Democrat women use more fear appeals than Republican women in competitive races. Among men, Republicans are more likely to use fear appeals than Democrats. In the unique ads model, however, there is no significant relationship between competitiveness, gender, and partisanship. This finding again points to the strategic use of emotion in ads. While the unique ads themselves might not show significant differences in the use of emotions, campaigns take into account gender stereotypes when deciding how many times to air an ad containing a particular emotion. As discussed in the earlier chapters, competitive races by their very nature are negative, more informative, and attract a lot of media coverage. Campaigns tend to spend a lot of money on competitive races. Given these factors, it would be beneficial for a woman candidate to use fear appeals as part of her campaign strategy. Fear appeals will help her combat partisan and gender stereotypes, and will help trigger information-seeking behavior among voters. Voters will be more likely to pay attention to political ads and news, which will help the candidate inform voters about her campaign agenda.

The findings indicate that feminine ads are more likely to have enthusiasm and hope appeals and less likely to have fear and anger appeals. This pattern holds for both the ad airings model as well as the unique ads model. This finding indicates that while devising ad strategies, campaigns are mindful of the ad characteristics, and try to make sure that the emotion matches their overall campaign strategy. An ad using feminine characteristics (Kaid, 2002) would do well to use gender congruent (in this case, positive emotions) to keep the message consistent.

Similarly, the findings indicate that women are more likely to use fear and anger in masculine ads, while men are less likely to use these emotions in feminine ads. The unique ads model partially replicates these results. It shows that women are less likely to use fear appeals, but more likely to use anger appeals. This strategy is in keeping with the idea that the overall

message should be consistent. When a female candidate campaigns "as a man," i.e. emphasizes her toughness, chooses male-stereotyped issues to campaign on, or uses "male" production techniques in ads, it would be beneficial to use masculine emotions in order to give the audience a unified message. For the same reason men running "as a woman" tend to use hope and enthusiasm in feminine ads.

The expectation of partisan differences in the use of feminine and masculine ads was based on the perception of Democrats as the more female party, but this expectation was not supported by the findings. While Democrat women use more fear appeals than their Republican counterparts, Democrat men are less likely to use fear appeals than Republican men. The partisan differences within genders are not supported in the unique ads model. Both Democrat men and women are less likely to use fear appeals than Republicans, though the test did not reach statistical significance. The ad airings model again demonstrates support for the theory that campaign strategists use gender-emotion stereotypes strategically. They use fear appeals to counteract feminist stereotypes associated with Democrat women, but for Democrat men they change the strategy.

One of the aims of this dissertation was to gather support for a theory of gender-emotion ownership. I set out to determine whether certain emotions are associated more with women in politics than men. Though the findings do not indicate an overall support for theory of gender-emotion ownership, the results indicate that the relationship is contingent upon other factors—mainly competitiveness, level of office, and the nature of the ad. This indicates that strategists are aware of the complex role that gender plays in elections. A lot of the recent scholarship in gender and politics (example Dolan, 2014; Brooks, 2011, 2013) demonstrates the changing public attitude toward women leaders and the declining potency of gender cues. The public

wants candidates who are tough and caring, honest and ambitious, capable of handling education issues as well as foreign policy. My findings indicate that campaign strategists are aware of this changing attitude, and are therefore reluctant to strategize solely on the basis of gender. In her book *He Runs She Runs*, Books (2011) advises campaign consultants to abandon conventional wisdom about the public evaluating candidates as ladies not leaders—and my findings indicate that campaign strategists understand this. Rather than play the gender card in all instances, strategists use gender cues selectively depending on other contextual factors in the election. This is a beneficial tactic for women candidates who do not have to limit their campaign to gender-stereotyped emotions.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Ads evoke emotions through the use of pictures, sounds and music. As Brader (2006) argues, the music and image "make the ad compelling by eliciting specific emotions and, in doing so, change the way viewers respond to the message of the ad" (2006:4). While the music and images do not compete with the verbal message, they act in tandem to increase the effect of the message on the viewer. Since the data I received from the Wisconsin Ad Project did not contain videos of the ads, my dissertation sample included ad storyboards, which had text and images, but no music or sound. Therefore my sample might have captured only a part of the emotions elicited by the original ad.

Additionally, my sample only includes ads from the 2008 races. Incorporating data from other elections years might lend more robustness to my findings. Future studies could also conduct surveys or in-depth interviews with campaign strategists to determine their rationale for using emotions in ads. This qualitative data combined with empirical analysis could shed more light on the role played by emotions in women's campaigns.

Another fruitful avenue of exploration for future researchers is the examination of hypotheses related to voter demographics and candidate gender. Do the emotions men and women candidates use in their ads vary depending on voters' race, socioeconomic status, and district partisanship? These are questions that still remain to be explored. Extant studies have also found that the percent of women in the state legislature is an indication of the future political success of women candidates from that state. Future studies could explore whether having more women in political offices affects the campaign strategies of other women candidates. As discussed in the previous chapters, women and men are often stereotyped as being capable of handling certain types of issues. Future research could examine whether women and men candidates challenge these stereotypes through the strategic use of emotions. Do women running on traditionally male issues use more fear appeals than others? Do men use fear appeals when they campaign on women's issues? These questions are still open to examination.

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APPENDIX A

Coding Sheet

Please answer the following questions about the ad storyboard you just looked at:

1. **AD** What is the file name for this ad? (Please cut and paste the exact name).

2. **CREATIVE ID**

3. Please code the emotional content of the advertisement. You should indicate whether the ad is trying to stir the mentioned emotion. Please do not answer the question based on how you personally feel. Rather, objectively evaluate the storyboard and indicate what you think the advertiser/candidate was trying to elicit. Please enter 1 for yes and 0 for no. These categories are not mutually exclusive. Please treat each question independently.
   2a. **ANGR** Was the ad designed to elicit ANGER?

   No

   Yes

   2b. **FEAR** Was the ad designed to elicit FEAR?

   No

   Yes

   2c. **HOPE** Was the ad designed to elicit HOPE?

   No

   Yes wants to do XYZ

   2d. **ENTH** Was the ad designed to elicit ENTHUSIASM?

   No

   Yes has already done XYZ, and states their beliefs

4. **PRIMARY EMOTION** What is the primary emotion in the ad?
   Anger=0
   Fear=1
   Hope=2
   Enthusiasm=3

5. **SECONDARY EMOTION** What is the secondary emotion in the ad?
   Anger=0
   Fear=1
   Hope=2
   Enthusiasm=3

6. **CAND_APP** Was the candidate dressed in formal clothes?
   Yes
   No

7. **CAND_EXP** Does the ad mention the experience/expertise of the favored candidate?
   Yes
   No

8. **AD_STATS** Does the ad present evidence in the form of statistics such as numbers, graphs, tables, figures?
   Yes
   No

9. **AD_AUTH** Does the ad feature a statement in favor of the candidate from an authoritative source such as a newspaper, or an expert source such as a financial analyst, law enforcement official, or other politician?
   Yes
   No

10. **AD_PERS** Does the candidate bring up his/her personal experience in dealing with or understanding the issue mentioned in the ad?
    Yes
    No

11. **CAND_QUAL** According to you, which of these candidate qualities does the ad aim to portray? Please select as many options as are applicable.
    Compassion: religion
    Outsider to Washington, not a politician, one of you, includes honesty and integrity, morality, trust. Check this when the candidate shows that his opponent is dishonest (contrast ads).
    Aggressiveness: use words like “block,” “oppose,”
    Knowledge: when someone lets people know their position on issues or tells them about plans that can help solve problems.
    Experience: when someone tells people how they voted or talks about their record, bipartisan.
    Other_____
    None

9. **CAND_OTHR** Who appears in the same picture(s) with the candidate in the ad? Please select as many options as are applicable.

Children
Families
Candidate's own children
Candidate's own families
Senior citizens
Blue collar workers
Law enforcement officer/army officers
Students
Average people
White collar professionals
None/ Candidate is always depicted alone in shots
Other_____

10. **CAND_FAM** Are spouses, children, and parents of the candidate pictured or mentioned in the ad?

Yes
No

11. Coder Initials (Please enter the initials of your name)

Coding Key

Question 2

Anger:

1. The main event in the ad is negative and the cause is attributed to another person.

2. The ad should be associated with the feeling that people have been slighted or treated unfairly.

3. Blame should be directed at someone or something other than ourselves.

4. We should believe that the person who is to blame had control over their actions and they could have acted differently had they so chosen.

Example: [Perdue]: "I'm Bev Perdue, I'm running for Governor, and I sponsored this ad." [Announcer]: Richard Moore's attack ads are hypocritical. He voted for tuition increases in the legislature. It's Bev Perdue who is endorsed by our teachers, and only Perdue will make community college tuition free, and four year college affordable. Remember, as treasurer, Richard Moore has taken 1.5 million dollars in contributions from Wall Street, and people who do business with his office. Richard Moore, he's for Wall Street, not us. [PFB]: BEV PERDUE COMMITTEE.

Fear:

1. Fear is associated with a sense of future harm and the feeling of uncertainty or ambiguity.

2. The danger hinted at in the ad is concrete, but since it's uncertain, we can't do anything about it.

Example: [Perdue]: "Im Bev Perdue, I'm running for Governor and I sponsored this ad." [Woman1]: "Of course I've heard about Pat McCrory, but before he ran for Governor I really didn't know much about him. Now I learn he wants to cancel the lottery and he supports private school vouchers. He's against stem cell research, and he's been for the Bush economic plan all the way. That might have helped the wealthy but not me. The more I hear about Pat McCrory, the more I worry he would take us in the wrong direction." [PFB]: BEV PERDUE COMMITTEE.

Hope:

1. This is associated with a wish or yearning for relief from a negative situation, or the realization of a positive outcome when the odds do not greatly favor it.

2. This is characterized by the presence of yearning and uncertainty, but also optimism that positive things will happen.

3. Hope cannot be for things that are highly unlikely, nor can it be for things that are almost certain to occur. Future conditions must be unfavorable but not hopeless.

Example: [Jill Thompson]: "Indiana offers great promise, but too many opportunities are passing us by." [Multiple speakers]: "Property taxes are sky high, and home foreclosures are way up. Layoffs are soaring. And our wages are falling. High school dropout rates are up. SAT scores are down." [Jill Thompson]: "We can do better, and when I'm governor, we will. How come the RV never stops where the problems are?" [PFB]: HOOSIERS FOR JILL LONG THOMPSON.

Enthusiasm:

1. This is associated with the idea that the current situation is positive, future expectations are positive, and that the overall outlook is positive in general.

2. Enthusiasm is associated with the realization of goals. In ads, this could imply that whatever was promised has been delivered or there has been a reasonable progress toward the realization of that goal.

Example: Announcer]: She knows the struggles facing working families. Jill Long Thompson, raised on a family farm. First to go to college, Jill earned her PhD in business. Then, helped save their farm from bankruptcy when her mother's job was shipped to Mexico. That's why as congresswoman Jill fought for good paying jobs, better schools, and healthcare. [Jill Long Thompson]: "As Governor I'll reinvest in Indiana. I won't sell state assets to foreign companies. Let's put Indiana back on track." [Announcer]: Jill Long Thompson for Governor. [PFB]: HOOSIERS FOR JILL LONG THOMPSON.

Question 3

Does the ad show the candidate wearing formal clothes (formal dress, pants, suits and skirt)? When the storyboard shows the candidate wearing both formal and informal clothes, count the number of pictures where he/she is wearing formal clothes and if that is more than informal, code 1 for formal and 0 for informal. If the number is equal, consider the images where the candidate is saying or doing something and code according to what the candidate is wearing in those images.

Example: In the photo below I would code 0 because the candidate is not wearing formal clothes.

In this photo I would code 1 because the candidate is wearing formal clothes.

Question 4

Does the ad mention the candidate's previous political record in dealing with the issue/issues

mentioned in the ad? Does the ad mention the number of bills he/she has passed, the number of years he/she has been in office, or the funds raised in helping solve the issue?

Example: [Announcer]: Julie Bornstein brings a lifetime of public service. Lawmaker, deputy chief controller, national expert on housing. Now she's ready to serve us in Congress to fight for healthcare and to get a financial plan that works for all of us, not just for Wall Street. The Desert Sun says Julie Bornstein's ability and experience are undeniable. We need to change Washington. Vote Julie Bornstein for Congress for change. [Julie Bornstein]: "I'm Julie Bornstein, and I approve this message." [PFB]: JULIE BORNSTEIN FOR CONGRESS.

Question 5

Does the ad use numbers/figures/graphs/numerical data from any external source (report, survey, study, person etc.) to back up the claims being made in the ad? This includes numbers being used to support the favored candidate as well as numbers being used against the opponent.

Question 6

Does the ad feature backup statements from an external source such as a newspaper, analyst, other politician?

Example: [Ed Honesa, Republican mayor]: "I support Gabrielle Giffords because she can work with anybody of either party." [Announcer]: One of the most independent voices in Congress. Gabrielle Giffords voted to cut middle class taxes and end the marriage penalty. She voted against wasteful spending and took on the federal bureaucracy to protect Arizona homeowners. [Ed Honea]: "Through her hard work and intervention, were were saved literally millions of dollars for the taxpayers in our community." [Gabrielle Giffords]: "I'm Gabrielle Giffords, and I approve this message." [PFB]: GIFFORDS FOR CONGRESS.

Question 7

Does the candidate identify personally with the issue in the ad? Does she/he mention being a mom/dad, some element in their background that makes them better able to handle the issue being raised in the ad?

Example: [Jill Thompson]: "I grew up on a farm where I learned the values of hard work and optimism. I know Hoosiers across Indiana share that outlook. Yet today too many are being denied the opportunities Indiana once offered them. When this governor says our economy is in great shape, he is out of touch with the challenges facing Hoosier families. That's why I'm visiting communities all across Indiana to show we can once again be a state where economic opportunity is the birthright of every Hoosier." [PFB]: HOOSIERS FOR JILL LONG THOMPSON.

Question 8

Honesty: Example: [Announcer]: Wayne Parker's real priorities? As a professional lobbyist in Washington, DC Wayne Parker diverted funds from North Alabama companies to help his wealthy clients. Making more money for him by costing us jobs. The choice? Cheryl Baswell Guthrie. Is pro life. Restoring honesty and integrity. Supporting NASA and America's defenses.

Cheryl Baswell Guthrie, the right priorities for America and North Alabama. [Cheryl Baswell Guthrie]: "I'm Cheryl Baswell Guthrie, and I approve this message." [PFB]: COMMITTEE TO ELECT CHERYL BASWELL GUTHRIE TO CONGRESS.

Compassion: Example: [Announcer]: Banks failing, turmoil on Wall Street, Arizona families struggling. Ann Kirkpatrick understands. Growing up in a small town, Ann watched families just barely get by. She's got deep roots here. She'll work across party lines to put people first, cut taxes for families, jump-start our economy, give middle-class families a permanent tax break. Ann Kirkpatrick. Independent like Arizona. [Ann Kirkpatrick]: "I'm Ann Kirkpatrick, and I approve this message." [PFB]: KIRKPATRICK FOR ARIZONA.

Outsider to Washington: This quality demonstrates that the candidate is the opposite of Washington which is associated with corruption and greed. Example: [Announcer]: Wayne Parker's real priorities? As a professional lobbyist in Washington, DC Wayne Parker diverted funds from North Alabama companies to help his wealthy clients. Making more money for him by costing us jobs. The choice? Cheryl Baswell Guthrie. Is pro life. Restoring honesty and integrity. Supporting NASA and America's defenses. Cheryl Baswell Guthrie, the right priorities for America and North Alabama. [Cheryl Baswell Guthrie]: "I'm Cheryl Baswell Guthrie, and I approve this message." [PFB]: COMMITTEE TO ELECT CHERYL BASWELL GUTHRIE TO CONGRESS.

Aggressiveness: Example: [Announcer]: They say the only things you can count on are death and taxes, add Marilyn Musgrave's lies. A news outlet said that she has no evidence for her highly misleading charges. Musgrave voted to let lobbyists wine and dine her, and took $14,000 in pay raises. Musgrave sponsored a bill to save her family thousands. No wonder she was named one of the most corrupt in Congress. Marilyn Musgrave, the only thing we can count on is more lies. [Betsy Markey]: "I'm Betsy Markey and I approve this message." [PFB]: MARKEY FOR CONGRESS.

Leadership: This quality implies that the favored candidates has the authority, strength or power to lead the country/voters out of the messy situation that they are currently in. Example: [Announcer]: Our nation in crisis, our economy sinking, gas prices skyrocketing and members of Congress going to prison. The choice? Conservative Cheryl Baswell Guthrie. She'll work to make America energy independent. She'll fight for lower taxes and a stronger economy because she knows when Republicans vote like Democrats, America suffers. Cheryl Baswell Guthrie, the conservative we need. [Cheryl Baswell Guthrie]: I'm Cheryl Baswell Guthrie and I approve this message. [PFB]: THE COMMITTEE TO ELECT CHERYL BASWELL GUTHRIE TO CONGRESS.

Knowledge: I couldn’t find an example for this. But I will let you know if I do.

Experience: Example: Example: [Announcer]: Julie Bornstein brings a lifetime of public service. Lawmaker, deputy chief controller, national expert on housing. Now she's ready to serve us in

Congress to fight for healthcare and to get a financial plan that works for all of us, not just for Wall Street. The Desert Sun says Julie Bornstein's ability and experience are undeniable. We need to change Washington. Vote Julie Bornstein for Congress for change. [Julie Bornstein]: "I'm Julie Bornstein, and I approve this message." [PFB]: JULIE BORNSTEIN FOR CONGRESS.

Question 9

Please enter yes or no depending on who is pictured in the ad with the candidate.

Example: For this ad, I would code yes for the presence of average people, seniors, and workers. The second and third pictures are irrelevant for this question because the candidate does not share screen space with these people.

Question 10

Please examine whether the favored candidate's spouse or children are mentioned in the ad. They don't necessarily have to be pictured in the same shot with the candidate. They could be featured without the candidate in the pictures or the candidate could mention them in the text of the ad.

Instructions

-Please enter 1 for yes responses and 0 for no responses.

-Please don’t leave any column blank.

-Please email me (npaul4@tigers.lsu.edu) as soon as you detect a problem.

APPENDIX B

List of Governor, House and Senate races in 2008

Governor	***House: no. of races***	***Senate***
Delaware	Alaska: 1	Alaska:
Indiana	Alabama: 3	Alabama
Missouri	Arkansas: 1	Arkansas
Montana	Arizona: 2	Colorado
North Carolina	California: 14	Georgia
North Dakota	Colorado: 4	Iowa
New Hampshire	Connecticut: 3	Idaho
Utah	Florida: 16	Illinois
Vermont	Georgia: 7	Kansas
Washington	Hawaii: 1	Kentucky
West Virginia	Iowa: 4	Louisiana
Idaho	Idaho: 1	Massachusetts
	Illinois: 8	Maine
	Indiana: 8	Michigan
	Kansas: 3	Minnesota
	Kentucky: 5	Mississippi
	Louisiana: 5	Montana
	Massachusetts: 2	North Carolina
	Maryland: 2	Nebraska
	Maine: 1	New Hampshire
	Michigan: 9	New Jersey
	Minnesota: 4	New Mexico
	Missouri: 6	Oklahoma
	Mississippi: 2	Oregon
	Montana: 1	Rhode Island
	Nebraska: 1	South Carolina
	New Hampshire: 2	South Dakota
	New Jersey: 3	Tennessee
	New Mexico: 3	Texas
	Nevada: 2	Virginia
	New York: 7	West Virginia
	Ohio: 10	
	Oklahoma: 4	
	Pennsylvania: 11	
	Rhode Island: 1	
	South Carolina: 4	
	South Dakota: 1	
	Texas: 12	
	Utah: 2	

	Virginia: 8 Washington: 2 Wisconsin: 2 West Virginia: 1 Wyoming: 1	
Total: 12	Total: 190	Total: 31

VITA

Newly Paul is from Jamshedpur, India. She received a bachelor's degree in English from Lady Shri Ram College (University of Delhi) in 2002, followed by a master's degree in English from University of Delhi in 2004. She worked for a few years at a national news magazine in India, where she wrote about education, entertainment and youth-related issues. She moved to Los Angeles in 2008 and graduated from University of Southern California with a master's degree in Journalism in 2010. She will complete her Ph.D. in Mass Communication and Public Affairs from Louisiana State University's Manship School of Mass Communication in May 2015. She is very excited to join the Communications department at Appalachian State University as an assistant professor beginning Fall 2015.